Making good citizens : national identity, religion and Liberalism among the Irish elite c.1800-1850.

Ridden, Jennifer

'Making Good Citizens':

National Identity, Religion, and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c.1800-1850

by

Jennifer Ridden

PhD Thesis, 1998

Kings College, University of London

Abstract

Through the study of a circle of Limerick families, this thesis examines the relationship between elite notions of national identity, their religious ideas, and the development of their ideas about citizenship, in the period between the 1798 Rebellion and the Great Famine in the late 1840s. The central proposition is that some members of the Irish elite developed a sense of British identity that was not English, that they believed could be held concurrently with Irish identity in this period, and that was used as a basis for negotiating with the British State and with the Irish people. By the end of the nineteenth century the elite had failed entirely in maintaining their own power, and in maintaining a legitimate claim to Irish identity. During the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the battle was by no means lost.

The Limerick coterie of intermarried families who form the core of the study, successfully articulated and claimed this middle ground during the explosive period of the 1820s. Some central members of this group were Sir Richard Bourke (Governor of New South Wales between 1831 and 1837), Thomas Spring Rice (MP for Limerick, then Cambridge, and later Chancellor of the Exchequer), Aubrey de Vere Hunt and his son Sir Aubrey de Vere (poet and critic of British policy in Ireland), Sir Matthew Barrington (Irish Attorney General), and William Smith O'Brien (who later became involved with the Young Ireland movement, was involved in the 1848 Rebellion, and was transported to New South Wales). This group used religiously based concepts of individuality and morality, in order to present a Liberal solution to the 'Irish problem', without resorting to the language of rights which Daniel O'Connell was appropriating to the cause of Repeal. Instead, they focused on the notion of citizenship which was based on non-denominational Christian morality, which could be developed through rational means, and which they thought could provide the basis for a new political unity. This Liberal rhetoric was intended to address the problems of Ireland under the Union, but it also had important implications in what was referred to as the 'British world' by contemporaries (that is, in England and in the British Empire).

Irish Liberals were not typical of the elite, nor did their ideas become dominant, but they were an important group. Their very existence and influence within Ireland challenges historians to re-think the binary oppositions that are often made between a unified Irish Catholic populace on one hand, and an equally unified but British Protestant elite on the other. This particular Liberal group developed a sense of identity that allowed them to claim legitimate membership of both societies. Their Liberalism was developed in response to the particular circumstances and debates in Limerick and in Ireland generally, which allowed them to claim a middle ground between the increasingly polarised Irish Protestant Tories and Catholic nationalist groups, and which allowed them to act as mediators. Moreover, the model of British Liberal citizenship they developed was not derived from English ideas and circumstances but was developed in Ireland. This is important because it suggests that historians need to reassess the nature of British identity itself, and the role it played in within the United Kingdom and the Empire. It also challenges historians to reconsider the nature of the conflict between Irish and British identities in the nineteenth century, that has been so important in the development of Irish nationalism. Finally, Irish Liberals did not perceive themselves as a colonising elite, nor did they act as a foreign colonising elite in this period. Instead, their ideas and actions were shaped by their role within Irish society and by their insistence on their right to lead the Irish people. Their claims to Irishness and to leadership were always contested. However, the Irish elite were not conclusively excluded from the Irish nation until much later in the century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have incurred too many debts to count in the course of researching and writing this thesis, and I can only begin the process of thanks and acknowledgement. The most extensive debt is to Professor Peter Marshall, who supported me in countless ways and no matter how onerous; I cannot adequately express my gratitude. I am also grateful to the many friends and colleagues who have supported and helped me in a myriad of ways, including Prof. Alan Atkinson, Prof. Tom Bartlett, Prof. Carl Bridge, Prof. Nick Canny, Dr Mandy Capern, Dr John Coakley, Dr Peter Cochrane, Prof. Hugh Cunningham, Prof. Marianne Elliott, Prof. Roy Foster, Dr John Gascoigne, Elspeth Guild, Dr Jacquie Hill, Prof. John Hirst, Caroline Johns, Dr James Kelly, Prof. David Killingray, Dr John Logan, Prof. Andrew Louth, Dr Chris Macleod, Prof. John Molony, Prof. Patrick O'Farrell, Prof. Mike Pearson, Prof. Gearóid O Tuathaigh, Dr Jonathan Parry, Prof. Andrew Porter, Prof. Conrad Russell, Ms Amanda Sackur, Dr Pam Sharpe, Carly Sherriffs, Dr Sarah Stockwell, Dr Keith Surridge, Prof. Pauric Travers, Mrs Patricia Vasey, Dr Glenn Wilkinson. I would also like to thank the following people who read and provided comment on draft chapters: Dr Phil Ollerenshaw, Dr Jutta Schwartzkopf, Dr Brendan Smith, Dr Penny Starns, Dr Hugh Tulloch and, again, Prof. Peter Marshall.

Many people gave me access to private papers, local information, and permission to quote material, and were generous with their time and assistance. Foremost among these was Mr Gerard Bourke (Thornfields, Co. Limerick) who even allowed me to borrow family papers for an extended period. Others include Mrs Bridget Agate and Mr Gerald Osborne (Milton Lilbourne, Wiltshire), Mr James Osborne (Wellington, Somerset), Mrs Patricia Flynn (Thornfields, Co. Limerick), Hon. Mr John Grigg (London), John Grubb (Fedamore, Co. Limerick), Hon. Mr Jim Kemmy TD, Dr Michael Kirwan (St Joseph's Hospital, Limerick), Mr Denis Leonard (Civic Trust, Limerick), Lord Monteagle (Fermoy, Cork), Mr James Osborne (Wellington, Somerset), Fr Mark Tierney (Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick), Mr W.R. le Fanu (Chelmsford, Essex). I would also like to acknowledge the support and permission to quote material given by the following Libraries, Institutions and Archives which I have used extensively: National Library of Ireland (Dr Gerry Lyne), National Archives of Ireland, Mid-West Regional Archives Limerick (Dr Chris O'Mahony), British Library, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (Prof. Anthony Malcolmson and Dr Brian Trainor), State Library of New South Wales (Mr Martin Beckett), State Archives of New South Wales, Public Record Office London, Limerick Museum (Mr Larry Walsh), Limerick City and County Libraries, Limerick Chamber of Commerce, Trinity College Library and Archives, Rhodes House Library University of Oxford, and the Church Representative Body Library Dublin (Dr Bernadette Cunningham).

I obtained employment and funding from a number of sources, without which I would not have been able to begin or complete the thesis. These included the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the UK (Overseas Research Student Award), Commonwealth of Australia, Dept of Education (Postgraduate Research Scholarship), Kings College London (School of Humanities Studentship and History Dept Research Grant), Mrs Judith Marshall and Kings College London (Travel Grant), Royal Historical Society (Travel Grant), and the University of London (Central Research Fund Grant). Finally, those Departments that have provided me with employment in the course of my PhD include, the Department of History, University of Bristol (which has employed me for the last three years as a Temporary Lecturer); Department of History, University of Kent; Department of Historical and Cultural Studies, Goldsmiths, University of London; Departments of History and Political Science, University of New South Wales.

My greatest thanks go to my son, Patrick Ridden Burgun.

ABBREVIATIONS

Australian Historical Studies, formerly *Historical Studies* (*AHS*)

British Library, Additional Manuscripts (BL add. mss)

[*British*] *Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*)

Dublin Evening Post (*DEP*)

Historical Journal (*HJ*)

Historical Records of Australia ed. Frederick Watson (Sydney, 1914-25) (*HRA*)

Irish Economic and Social History (*IESH*)

Irish Historical Studies (*IHS*)

Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History (*JICH*)

Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society (*JCHAS*)

Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society (*JRAHS*)

Mid-West Regional Archives, Limerick (MWRAL)

National Archives of Ireland (NAI)

National Library of Ireland (NLI)

A New History of Ireland iv. Eighteenth-century Ireland, 1691-1800 ed. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (Oxford, 1984) (*NHI* iv)

A New History of Ireland v. Ireland Under the Union, I. 1801-70 ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford, 1989) (*NHI* v)

Old Limerick Journal (*OLJ*)

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) new series and third series (London, 1820-30 and 1831-70) (*Hansard 2* and *Hansard 3* respectively; all House of Commons unless otherwise noted)

Public Records Office, London (PRO)

Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI)

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK)

State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library (ML)

State of the Country papers (SOC)

Trinity College Dublin (TCD)

Parliamentary Papers are referred to as follows (all House of Commons unless otherwise noted):

1826 (404) iv. *Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom.*

CHAPTER 1

IMAGINING THE ELITE AND IMAGINING THE NATION

Through the study of a circle of Limerick families, this thesis examines the relationship between elite notions of national identity, their religious ideas, and the development of their ideas about citizenship, in the period between the 1798 Rebellion and the Great Famine in the late 1840s. The central propositions are that some members of the Irish elite[1] developed a coherent Liberal ideology more than a decade before most of the English did so. This was based on Liberal religious ideas and which played an important role in their attempt to establish legitimate leadership in Ireland. They also developed a sense of British identity that was not English, that they believed could be held concurrently with Irish identity in this period, and that was used as a basis for negotiating with the British State and with the Irish people. By the end of the nineteenth century the elite had failed entirely in maintaining their own power, and in maintaining a legitimate claim to Irish identity. During the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the battle was by no means lost.

The Limerick coterie of intermarried families who form the core of the study, successfully articulated and claimed a middle ground during the explosive period of the 1820s. Some central members of this group were Sir Richard Bourke (Governor of New South Wales between 1831 and 1837), Thomas Spring Rice (MP for Limerick, then Cambridge, and later Chancellor of the Exchequer), Aubrey de Vere Hunt and his son Sir Aubrey de Vere (poet and critic of British policy in Ireland), Sir Matthew Barrington (Irish Attorney General), and William Smith O'Brien (who later became involved with the Young Ireland movement, was involved in the 1848 Rebellion, and was transported to New South Wales).

This group used religiously based concepts of individuality and morality, in order to

---

[1] The sociological term 'elite' is used in preference to nobility, gentry, aristocracy, or Protestant Ascendancy. Although Protestantism was an essential element of elite status by the end of the eighteenth century, not all Protestants were members of the elite. Religion was a key criteria for elite membership in the nineteenth century, but Protestantism did not confer elite status in any direct manner, and there were substantial groups of working class Protestants in Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and throughout Ulster. Furthermore, the composition of the elite shifted over time, even though the political, economic, and social roles they performed remained largely stable.

present a Liberal solution to the 'Irish problem', without resorting to the language of natural rights which Daniel O'Connell was appropriating to the cause of Repeal. Instead, they focused on the notion of citizenship which was based on non-denominational Christian morality, which could be developed through the cultivation of rationality, and which they thought could provide the basis for a new political unity. This Liberal rhetoric was intended to address the problems of Ireland under the Union, but it also had important implications in what was referred to as the 'British world' by contemporaries, that is, in England and in the British Empire.

What is immediately obvious about these individuals, especially about Richard Bourke and Thomas Spring Rice, is that their ideas and actions do not seem to fit easily into categories used by most historians of Ireland, the United Kingdom, or the Empire. They were Protestant but they also supported the extension of full civil and political participation to Catholics; they were Irish but were also important actors in Britain and the British Empire, and they supported the Union; they refused to accept that Irish and British identities were opposed, despite the development of an anti-English form of Irish nationalism in this period; and they were Irish Liberals despite the widespread modern view that Liberalism was 'still-born' in Ireland. These contradictions raise important questions about political ideology and national identity in early nineteenth-century Ireland, about the development of British identity in this period, and about the transmission of ideas around the English-speaking world in a period of British expansion. Through this particular case study, this thesis presents a different interpretation of these wider questions.

It is appropriate to describe this group as 'Liberal' because they used this term to describe themselves by the mid-1820s. They formed an informal but coherent political organisation from 1815 which allowed them to mount a powerful and sustained attack on the 'Vereker group', which dominated local politics and the Corporation in Limerick. This resulted in a coherent political ideology and set of policies. This ideology was much more than a popular 'liberalism' or a tendency to 'liberality'; it was based on precise notions of the individual, of Christian citizenship, and of a pluralist State, all of which were to be features of the Liberalism which developed in the 1830s in England.[2]

---

[2] The term 'Liberal' is used in a religious sense (as in Liberal Protestant) and in a political

This group formed their ideas in a specific set of historical circumstances in Limerick, which are examined in detail throughout the thesis. A number of key elements shared by this group can be identified. First, they were all 'improving landlords', with a strong sense of social duty to their tenants in County Limerick. Thus they shared economic interests and geographical closeness which encouraged them to associate together, and they were usually linked through their duties as county magistrates. Familial attachments were an additional bond between this group. David Fitzpatrick first drew attention to this particular social group in 1988, when he published an article in the *Old Limerick Journal* on Thomas Spring Rice, which was accompanied by a genealogy showing the intermarriages between the de Veres, O'Briens, and Spring Rices.[3] This is reproduced in the Appendix, with the addition of the Bourke family and a number of other links.

These families associated together because of their common political and economic interests, and most importantly, their shared concern for religious piety and theological issues. They maintained their social contacts through shared musical and religious meetings, family occasions, participation in voluntary charity and social reform organisations and the Limerick Chamber of Commerce, and in their roles as magistrates. They all lived in County Limerick within reach of the City, and they increasingly met at the Limerick Commercial Buildings, where they associated with like-minded gentlemen and professionals. This tightly knit circle was supplemented by other associations which were formed through economic, political, religious, and social activities conducted in other parts of Ireland, in England, and in the colonies. This wider circle of associations formed a broadened marriage pool, and also formed the basis of a patronage network which increasingly spanned the 'British world'.

One of the most striking features of this group was their shared emphasis on piety and theological discussion, despite their varying religious backgrounds and affiliations. Every one of

---

sense throughout the period when considering the Irish context. However, this thesis uses 'liberal' or 'Whig' for the period prior to the 1832 Reform Act in England, 'Liberal-Whig' for the period of the Reforming Governments of the 1830s, and 'Liberal' thereafter (see further discussion on the relationship between Irish and English political groupings in Chapters 5 and 7). 'Liberal Anglican' is used to identify the tightly knit group of English Anglicans who suscribed to the theological ideas explained by Richard Brent in his *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, religion, and reform 1830-1841* (Cambridge, 1987).

[3] David Fitzpatrick, 'Thomas Spring Rice and the Peopling of Australia', *OLJ* 'Australian Edition' (1988), 39-49.

these families was descended from Anglo-Norman or Old Irish families that had converted from Catholicism to Protestantism during the eighteenth century. The Bourke clan were originally an 'Old English' Catholic family which included Edmund Burke. Most had conformed in the early eighteenth century. The O'Briens traced their lineage back to Brian Boru (native Irish) and had been Catholic until the eighteenth century, when William Smith O'Brien's ancestors had converted. The de Veres and the Rice side of the Spring Rice family were both descended from Old English Catholic families. Matthew and Daniel Barrington were descended from Catholic families on their mother's side (who was, herself, Catholic), and on their father's side the family was of mixed Anglican and Quaker background. All this group had some relatives that had remained Catholic. This shared background of 'eighteenth-century convert' ancesters formed a point of contrast between this group and those who clung to a rigid and long-held Protestantism as the basis of their social, cultural, and political superiority. Indeed, such a commitment would have raised awkward questions for this group, since their involvement in religious debate led a number of them to re-convert back to Catholicism, or to embrace Newmanite Anglo-Catholicism during the 1840s and 50s.[4] In these circumstances, it is not surprising that their religious Liberalism was an important basis for links between these families, both social and familial, and that they looked to theological debate for concepts and language which could be used in other circumstances.

Limerick provided the circumstances which shaped the ideas of this group, and forms the focus for the first section of the thesis. West and south-west Ireland were particularly volatile in the early nineteenth century. It was here that debates on religion, national identity, and agrarian violence were most explosive, where Daniel O'Connell's political activities were focused, and where some of the most virulent Protestant opposition to O'Connell arose. For this reason, Limerick has acquired a reputation for being sharply divided. Even so, these divides were tempered by inter-dependence and complex social, economic, and political interactions which

---

[4] One of William Smith O'Brien's daughters, and two of Aubrey de Vere's sons became Catholic. Matthew Barrington's daughter married Walter le Fanu, descendant of a Huguenot family. Thomas Spring Rice's son was a follower of Newman, but in the end declined to convert. Barrington papers, Glenstal Abbey: Lord Stanley to Matthew Barrington, 8 Sept. 1831; Abington Vestry Book, Church Representative Body; Friends Library Dublin, Genealogical Files; 'The Barringtons of Limerick', *OLJ* 24 (Winter 1988), 7; David Fitzpatrick, 'Thomas Spring Rice and the Peopling of Australia', *OLJ* 23 (Spring 1988), 42.

were not necessarily apparent to the outside observer. For example, although the divide between tenants and landlords was sharp at a basic level, this socio-economic system was much more complex than any binary model would lead us to expect. Some of this group were large landowners and aristocrats, but the elite also included minor gentlemen whose professional, military, and administrative roles provided an important source of finance for their gentry life-style and for estate improvement. The Spring Rice, de Vere, O'Brien, Barrington and Bourke families in general fitted into the latter category, although the Spring Rices and O'Briens were more wealthy than the remainder. Thus Matthew Barrington supplemented the income from his estate with his work as a lawyer (in fact, he used this work to finance the eventual purchase of the Carbery estate); Matthew's brother Daniel supplemented his landed income as a land agent for the Bourke and the Pery families; Richard Bourke supplemented his estate income through his career as a soldier and then as a colonial governor, and his son supplemented his income through a legal and administrative career, as did Stephen de Vere, and Stephen Spring Rice (sons of Aubrey de Vere Hunt and Thomas Spring Rice, respectively). Many of the women in these families married professionals, soldiers, and administrators. Their professional careers also provided these families with further links with other Irish, English, and colonial families, and made political and patronage networks an essential part of their lives. Futhermore, the minor gentry and professionals used this additional income to rent land from other local landholders, usually adjacent to their core estates, and many eventually bought this additional land. This produced very complex patterns of economic relationships, social contacts, and political obligations, which did not fit the landlord-tenant divide neatly.

This complexity also extended to religion. Despite an important religious divide between an overwhelmingly Catholic population at the bottom of the social structure, and a Church of Ireland elite at the top, the meanings given to that religious division were changing in this period, as institutional religion gained greater influence within the populace. Furthermore, we cannot assume that 'Catholics' all shared a particular socio-economic and political outlook. In particular, there was a growing group of Catholic and Dissenting tradesmen and professionals in Limerick City, because it was the regional centre for the surrounding County, and because it was an important port in this period. In the County, there were also divisions between poor cottiers, landless labourers, small tenants, 'strong farmers', and Catholic middlemen who acted

as agents for large Protestant (usually absentee) landlords. Moreover, the term 'Protestant' did not imply religious unanimity, but instead covered a mutitude of different religious affiliations which had important effects. Limerick had communities of Quakers and Methodists (especially Palatines), and even Church of Ireland members were divided into High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and Liberals. Chapter 2 shows how important these divisions were in shaping the crucial debates that took place in a period of explosive religious conflict.

This thesis examines the circumstances in which a particular set of Liberal Protestant religious concepts among this Limerick coterie were developed into an Irish Liberal ideology. It examines the role of religious ideas in Liberal contributions to social, economic and political debates, and their attempts to reshape Irish society; the Liberal critique of aristocracy and attempts at reform of the Irish elite; the effects of the new circumstances of the Union on the development of Liberal ideology; the way economic change created circumstances in which Liberal ideology became politically relevant to an emerging Catholic middle class and Protestant urban professionals and minor gentry; and the way this ideology affected and was affected by the changing Irish political context.

This research has significance beyond the local context in Limerick. It contributes to the reassessment of elite ideology and elite identity in Ireland as a whole, between the 1798 Rebellion and the 1840s Famine. Attempts to explain this group's somewhat unexpected views, and their relationship with other groups in Ireland, entail a close examination of the socio-economic and political relationships in Ireland in this period, as well as some of the assumptions that historians have previously relied upon. This has led to a re-examination of Irish Liberals' insistence on both Irish and British identity, and their attempt to integrate these identities raises questions about how identities were developed and the uses to which they were put. Finally, this group was significant in the British world outside Ireland. Their careers show the need to reassess the assumption that 'British' in Empire in this period actually meant 'English writ large'. The role of the non-English gentries was extremely important in metropolitan Britain, and also in the margins of the 'British world'. Ireland was a crucial element in this process of transforming the Empire from an English one to a British one, both because of the increasing number of professional Irish gentlemen seeking imperial service, and because Ireland was an early testing ground for many of the problems that the nineteenth-century

Empire displayed. Those historians that have identified the presence of the Irish in Empire, and have recognised their relative ease in changing from 'colonised' to 'colonisers', have had difficulty in explaining why this was the case. Explaining the background and assumptions of one group of Irish gentry begins to explain how this transformation was possible.

Irish Liberals did not perceive themselves as a colonising elite, nor did they act as a foreign colonising elite in this period. Their cultural identity was not determined in any simplistic way by their economic and political interests, or by an unproblematic English ethnicity. Instead, their ideas and actions were shaped by their role within Irish society and by their insistence on their right to lead the Irish people within an over-arching British State. Their claims to Irishness and to leadership were always contested. However, the Irish elite were not conclusively excluded from the Irish nation until much later in the century.

Considering them as a colonising elite in the nineteenth century may well lead to serious distortions. Historical research on nineteenth- and twentieth-century British colonies is producing findings that do not support the assumptions that many Irish historians make about the 'colonial model'. For example, recent research shows that colonial elites did not act as arms of the British State in any direct sense. Furthermore, colonial status cannot, by itself, explain the development of a nationalist movement; nor can it explain why some elites were included and other excluded in emerging nations. Recent research is showing that colonial nationalist movements were not always based on ethnicity; indeed some European colonial elites were able to assume leadership of anti-colonial resistance and nationalist movements, whether or not they shared a common ethnicity with the other groups involved. These issues are considered in Chapters 6 and 7, and their impact on Irish historiography is examined in the Conclusion.

It is not enough to trace the process of the eradication of the nineteenth-century Irish elite as if this process were wholly encapsulated in the development of popular nationalism. This is only one part of the story. My purpose is not to justify but to understand the Ascendancy on their own terms. The Irish elite used the Union to maintain their power within Ireland, but they were also constrained by the conditions of the Union and by the escalation in opposition to their leadership within Ireland. This forced them to try to develop new solutions to old problems. These new circumstances involved shifts in the relationships between all the groups that

constituted Irish society, and also between the Irish elite and the British State, which in turn produced a variety of ideological stances.

The composition of the elite in Ireland has shifted over the eight centuries of contact between England and Ireland, and the question of their origins is no longer clear-cut. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Irish elite consisted of a number of different groups ('Old English', 'New English', and representatives of English government), and this elite had developed a sense of ethnicity and a justification for dominance that was different from that of the English elite.[5] The 'Old English' had systematically tried to destroy old Gaelic power during the fourteenth century, and by the end of the sixteenth century had largely succeeded. However, as Robin Frame points out, even this conflict between Gael and Gall was not entirely straightforward. There was a broad middle ground, within which a complex network of ties between Anglo-Irish lords, local communities, and central authority existed.[6] A further shift in the basis of the division between elite and non-elite groups in Ireland occurred in the early seventeenth century, which was cemented by the 1641 Rising. This Rising created a new level of shared consciousness between Anglicans and Presbyterians, and between the Old English and the native Irish groups which were both Catholic, and this represented a shift from the older salient divisions between Gaels and Galls toward divisions that were more clearly based on religion.[7] This shift was reinforced by the Williamite Wars, and by the Penal Laws which were intended to protect Protestant land ownership and political power.[8] So the way the elite defined themselves as a whole, and was defined by others, had changed substantially by the beginning of the eighteenth century; some families were either included or excluded in the elite group with

---

[5] Nicholas Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish', in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), 159-212.

[6] Robin Frame, 'Two kings in Leinster: the Crown and the MicMhurchadha in the fourteenth century' in T.B. Barry, Robin Frame, and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: essays presented to J.F. Lydon* (London, 1995), 155-75; and his *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1990).

[7] Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the atlantic world 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988); J.G. Simms, 'The establishment of Protestant ascendancy, 1691-1714' in *NHI* iv. 1-30.

[8] Jacqueline Hill, 'The meaning and significance of "Protestant ascendancy", 1787-1840', *Ireland after the Union: proceedings of the second joint meeting of the Irish Academy and the British Academy* (London, 1986) 1-22; Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992), 17-29.

each change. This was particularly obvious in the eighteenth century, when the elite group came to be defined much more along religious lines than according to their ethnic origins. During the early eighteenth century Catholic elite families of both English and Irish origin were forced to choose between conversion to Protestantism and the loss of their land, political power, and elite status. Some Catholic elite families converted to the Church of Ireland, others refused to conform and lost their elite status. According to Power, this group of converted Catholic gentry became a hybrid group, between the Protestant elite and the Catholic populace, and often performing a mediating role, but that they do not fit neatly into a binary religious model.[9] This is particularly relevant to the consideration of the Liberal group in Limerick which developed in the early nineteenth century, because they all came from families of mixed ancestry, whose elite status had been protected by their forebears' decision to conform to the Church of Ireland. Though there were a range of possible responses to this mixed religious heritage, this particularly group responded with a flexibility of religious responses that elite families of less mixed ancestry eschewed, and Chapter 5 shows that they performed the kind of mediating role that Power has discovered in the eighteenth century.

However defined, the Irish elite as a whole was weak: they had experienced competition between different groups for dominance, and had weathered two major uprisings during the seventeenth century. After the Williamite Wars they experienced a period of relative stability, but they were still dependent upon repressive penal laws for the maintenance of their power. At the end of the eighteenth century they experienced the 1798 Rebellion, and thereafter this weak elite faced a difficult and ambiguous situation. On the one hand, they were forced to recognise that they could no longer maintain their leadership in Ireland without substantial assistance from the British State; but on the other, they could not hope to maintain their leadership in Ireland in the long term unless they found a way to persuade the populace of their legitimacy and of their essential Irishness, in the face of growing Irish nationalism. The new circumstances of the Union demanded adaptation by the elite, both in practical ways and in the way they presented themselves. The possible strategies for that adaptation were of course

---

[9] T.P. Power, 'Converts' in T.P. Power and K. Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990), 101-27. See also David Dickson, 'Middlemen' in T. Bartlett and D.W. Hayton (eds), *Penal era and golden age: essays in Irish history, 1690-1800* (Dublin, 1979), 162-85.

constrained by practical circumstances, and by the British political and legal structure. Thus they were always under pressure to find ways of justifying and defining themselves as a cohesive and well-defined group, and to re-establish their legitimacy.

The elite's eventual exclusion as a group from the emerging Irish nation, can be more effectively explained in terms of their strategic failure than as the inevitable consequence of their ethnic or racial composition, favoured by post-colonial scholars and nation-based historians. The contemporary and historical portrayal of this elite as 'foreign' was an important part of the process of 'imagining' the group, and of deciding who to include and who to exclude from it. However, this did not represent an objective and immutable fact which can be used to explain the elite's ultimate rejection from the Irish nation, as if that was predetermined.

By the nineteenth century, the reality was that the Irish elite was neither a wholly native elite with local legitimacy based on their claims to a shared native ethnicity, religion, and cultural identity with the majority of the population, nor were they a class of foreign settlers with an unassailable and reliable claim to the support from the British State. After the Rebellion, their insecurity as a ruling elite encouraged them to claim both Britishness, through which they expected support from the British State, and also to claim continuing legitimacy as an Irish ruling elite, based on Irish birth and loyalties. However, this emphasis on collaboration with the British State was more determined by the elite's desire to cement their status within Ireland, in the particular circumstances that they faced and using the power of the British State, than by a clear-cut English ethnicity. On the contrary, a sense of Britishness or Englishness varied dramatically in degree and meaning among different elite groups, and it also fluctuated widely over time.[10]

The circumstances of the Union

Though the Union did not transform the Irish elite into an English elite or make them act according to the dictates of the British State, it was a major factor in the transformation of circumstances which took place in the first half of the nineteenth century in Ireland. Even in the

---

[10] David Hayton, 'Anglo-Irish attitudes: changing perceptions of national identity among the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, ca. 1690-1750', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 17 (1987), 145-57.

years of the independent Irish parliament, the Irish elite had been far from independent in practical terms, and the Rebellion had revealed just how vulnerable their leadership was.[11] However, the new political and administrative provisions of the Union meant that the extent to which the Ascendancy were reliant on the British State was both greater and much more visible.

The most obvious result of the Union between Britain and Ireland was that it involved a new political centre; Westminster instead of Dublin. This had the effect of limiting the power of the Irish elite within Ireland, but also made it possible for the Irish elite to gain influence within domestic Britain. Thus, the interaction between the British State and Ireland was closer than any interaction between the British State and any formal colony. However, this did not mean that the English elite made decisions which were implemented by the elite in Ireland without question. They co-operated with the British State on many occasions in return for support, but were also active in trying to shape British policy in Ireland. They did so to serve their own interests, and they did not see those interests as being identical with those of the British State. Nor was their primary obligation to simply act as an arm of the British State. On the contrary, some saw their interests as separate and occasionally as directly opposed to those of the British State. The Ascendancy continued to act primarily according to Irish circumstances, assumptions, and interests, while the British State acted according to British ones. As a result, the relationship between the Irish elite and the British State was conditional on both sides. In all cases elite decisions about whether, in what degree, and in what form, to collaborate with the British State were determined more by their perceptions of how to maintain their own power within Irish society than by a sense of duty to further the interests of the British State. However, since the Irish elite found it necessary to use the tools of the British State for their own defence, this process influenced their own actions, subsequently influenced their relationship with other groups in Irish society, and ultimately undermined their position as a legitimate Irish elite.

Shifting elite composition and identity meant that there was competition for elite status, especially in the early nineteenth century when competition for leadership within Irish elite at municipal level was at fever-pitch, and when the socio-economic conditions were changing to

---

[11] James Kelly, *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish politics in the 1780s* (Cork, 1992), esp. 245-7.

allow the further development of a Catholic bourgeoisie. Maureen Wall has argued that this process began in the eighteenth century, and Joseph Lee has argued that modernisation in the nineteenth century created such a group.[12] The implication here is that there were a number of competing conceptions of nation at any one time,[13] and therefore that a range of different groups competed for leadership of that nation.

Some members of the Ascendancy reacted to these changes by leaving Ireland and using their Irish properties to finance a life that was thenceforth conducted almost entirely within cultural and political confines of the English gentry and aristocracy. However, those who stayed in Ireland generally agreed that their leadership was under attack, and that some form of defence was necessary. Beyond this basic assumption the elite was not unified; instead, there were substantial and far-reaching disagreements in Ireland about how to achieve stable rule. Debate centred on whether and how far Ireland should be anglicised and made less 'Irish', whether coercive or conciliatory methods of controlling agrarian violence should be used, whether and how far social and political reform was necessary, and whether the elite should try to infiltrate the British State in order to protect their interests in Ireland, or resist the British State outright. Ultimately, these arguments were designed to determine the ideal form of Irish society, but they also meant that the elite were unable to achieve unanimity.

Three groups of elite response to challenge are easily identifiable. First, Irish 'Tories' tried to crush opposition once and for all, using British power. They have traditionally received most historical attention because of their prominence in responding to agrarian violence, their trenchant opposition to Catholic Emancipation and O'Connellite Repeal, and because these aspects seemed to reinforce the notion that Irish History involves binary divides. Second, O'Connell and the leaders of the pre-Famine Repeal movement promoted legislative independence from Britain, and tried to gain control within Ireland, using opposition to Britain

---

[12] Maureen Wall, 'The Rise of a Catholic Middle Class in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies* xi, 42 (Sept. 1958), 91-115 and David Dickson, 'Catholics and Trade in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: an old debate revisited' in T.P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth* century (Dublin, 1990), 85-100; J.J. Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Dublin, 1973).

[13] This point is made explicit by S.J. Connolly in his *Religion, Law and Power*, 5-40, and in his 'Culture, Identity and Tradition: changing definitions of Irishness' in Graham (ed.), *In Search of Ireland*, 43-63.

and to the Protestant religion as a lever for political change. It is important to recognise that O'Connell was part of the Irish elite despite his Catholicism, and that his agenda for Irish self-determination was partly an attempt to grab power for the old Catholic gentry. Third, Irish Liberals were willing to use British-based coercion as a temporary measure to retain control, but at the same time they tried to create legitimate and effective rule by reforming both the elite and the populace.

One of the key elements in this new situation was the increasing intensity of religious conflict as a consequence of the evangelical revival and the resurgence of Catholicism. Chapter 2 examines the varied Church of Ireland theological responses, and argues that these debates had a direct effect on Liberal Protestants in Limerick because it was in this context that they developed a new emphasis on rationality, the individual, and moral responsibility, which formed the basis of Liberal social and political thought in the 1820s and thereafter. Religious oppositions were long-standing, and the penal laws had emphasised the conflict, given it symbolic significance, and added political and economic dimensions. But after the repeal of the penal laws, Irish Whigs had seen an opportunity to find ways of 'softening' the religious divisions in Irish society, and in their view the Rebellion made this necessity even more obvious.[14] The Protestant Crusade, and the importance of religious conflict in the growth of O'Connellite popular politics, made it clear to Liberals that anything which cemented a permanent opposition between a Protestant elite and a Catholic population, must undermine any elite attempt to create a cohesive society and to legitimate their leadership. So the Liberal belief that the elite should act to re-shape Irish society in ways that avoided division along religious lines was intimately related to their aim of reasserting and rebuilding elite power. Chapter 3 shows that Liberals sought to develop non-denominational education as a way of developing the qualities necessary for good subjecthood, and ultimately good citizenship, as a way of creating a more cohesive society in Ireland, and always as a way of asserting their own right to lead by determining the nature and extent of change.

Irish Liberals were, in the long term, unsuccessful in imposing their vision of Irish society, and in winning the support of other elite groups, and they were always in the minority. Yet, in

---

[14] A.W.P. Malcolmson, *John Foster: the politics of Anglo-Irish ascendancy* (Oxford, 1978).

attempting to provide an understanding of how the Ascendancy as a whole operated in this period, it is important to consider the way issues and power struggles were fought out between the various elite groups, and how this affected negotiations with the British State and with non-elite groups in Irish society. By ignoring groups like the Liberals, historians run the risk of caricaturing both the Ascendancy and the populace, since Liberals often acted as mediators or in shifting alliances with other political groups. They were therefore a key ingredient in this changing context.

Whereas historians have often assumed that the main political conflicts of the 1815 to 1830 period occurred between Irish Tories and O'Connellites, in fact it is much more appropriate to think in terms of three-cornered contests (at least). Most debates in this period involved conflicts between Irish Tories and Irish Liberals on one hand, and Irish Liberals and O'Connellites on the other. They were not all between Tories and O'Connellites alone (these issues are examined in Chapter 5). Secondly, this group was important in the 1820s in developing the basis for Whig attempts at social reform, which they tried to implement during their periods of government during the 1830s and 40s (Chapters 2, 3, and 7).

The Irish elite in this period found that their capacity to influence the Irish policy of the British State was limited. Liberals in particular found that their views on the role of political economy in Ireland (especially during the Great Famine) were out of step with English popular opinion and with prevailing views within the British Liberal Party. This perceived failure was a crucial factor in the development of nineteenth-century versions of exclusive Irish national identity, and the Famine was an important factor in the development of a politicised exclusive Irish identity. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century O'Connell and others were making the accusation that this elite acted in the interests of the British State (upon which they relied) rather than in the interests of the Irish people, and this was central to their demands for the Repeal of the Union. This meant that the Ascendancy's Irishness was as much under attack as their elite legitimacy.

The elite were eventually excluded from nationalism because 'illegitimate' became aligned with 'Protestant' and 'foreign'. This process was not inevitable, nor was it concluded immediately after the inauguration of the Union. The construction of an Irish nationalist 'imagined community' necessarily involved the reconstruction of its elite as predominantly

illegitimate and foreign. It was the dominance of Catholic, anti-English Irish nationalism that eventually prevented Protestant Unionists like Thomas Spring Rice from convincingly portraying themselves as legitimate protectors of Irish popular interests (see Chapter 5). Therefore, the period in which Irish Catholic nationalism became hegemonic, as both exclusively Catholic and anti-English, has an important bearing on the role of the Irish elite in both Irish and British politics (Chapters 5 to 7).

A 'British world' emerged in the nineteenth century, which increasingly involved large migrations of Irish, Scottish and English people across the globe. They took with them their values, ideologies, and identities, and they operated beyond national boundaries. In order to understand the development of ideology and identity in this expanding world, we ourselves need to go beyond the writing of history within these national boundaries. This thesis examines a particular group, whose ideas and sense of identity can be clearly shown in Limerick where they originated, but who then participated in developments outside Ireland. By following members of this group to England and to Australia, we can discover the way their Irishness, their non-English sense of Britishness, and their ideology, affected what was going on elsewhere. The model of British Christian citizenship that Irish Liberals developed played an important role in the Empire, because it provided a way that the British State could deal with plural, non-English societies within a broad and flexible British model, and it provided a way for aspiring colonial elites to negotiate with the British State (Chapter 7).

CHAPTER 2

RELIGIOUS DEBATE

An 'unjust and impolitic system of Proselytism'[1]

This chapter examines the role played by religion in the formation of national identity in Ireland, and in the attempted re-invention of the elite. It begins by examining religious culture, and the role religion played in defining social and political groups. The Protestant Crusade unified a range of different Protestant groups against a perceived Catholic threat, and prompted volatile Catholic responses.[2] This religious confrontation, combined with the gulf between elite and popular religious cultures, and the political implications of religion under the Union, made the religious debates central to the development of opposed national identities and subsequent Nationalist political programmes. By the mid-1820s O'Connellite nationalism was developing in a manner that emphasised Catholicism, in opposition to the Protestant Crusade. Conversely, Protestantism was an essential criterion for elite membership, and this determined the range of possible roles that this elite could play and the identities they could develop.

The prominence of religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics has tended to camouflage the fact that neither Protestant nor Catholic groups were monolithic. The debates within each denomination played an important but hitherto under-emphasised role in the development of religious debate in Ireland, and in the wider social and political debates that ensued. Changes in the relationship between institutional and lay religion, and in the meaning of 'Protestant' were significant in producing conditions that allowed diversity in religious stances. The Protestant Crusade and the emergence of Catholic nationalism did not

---

[1] [Thomas Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation, considered on Protestant Principles; in a letter to the Earl of Liverpool, K.G. from an Irish Member of Parliament* (London, 1827), 3.

[2] The terms 'Catholic' and 'Catholicism' are used to indicate Roman Catholic and Roman Catholicism. 'Anglo-Catholic' is used to identify the Newmanite and Puseyites. 'Protestant' is, in general, used to indicate members of the Church of Ireland, and also members of the various Protestant Dissenting denominations. However, the contemporary use of the term was changing in this period, and this important issue is discussed below. The Protestant Crusade was also known as the Second Reformation Movement, particularly among High Church clerics within the Church of Ireland, and the latter term has many more theological connotations than the first which was the more popular term. 'Evangelical Crusade' has been deliberately avoided, because it was not solely an Evangelical movement, in the theological sense of the term. 'Evangelical' is used for the church party within the Churches of Ireland and England, while 'evangelical' denotes Dissenters.

encompass all the possible religious responses in Ireland. They did, however, provide crucial reference points which were used by all the various religious groups who sought to contest the relationship between religion and national identity. Irish Liberal Protestants were a good example of this, because their vociferous opposition to the Protestant Crusade and simultaneous championing of Catholic Emancipation made it possible for them to challenge the emerging exclusively Catholic Irish identity as espoused by O'Connell.

The religious outlook of Liberal Protestants was fundamental in making it possible for this elite group to re-invent themselves as a legitimate and non-denominational Christian elite in Ireland. Their approach was a response to a growing emphasis on sectarian division within Ireland and to a powerful attack on the Protestant elite from a specifically Catholic nationalism.[3] Liberal Protestants passionately opposed the Protestant Crusade of the 1820s, on the grounds that it accentuated conflict within an unstable Irish society. As Richard Bourke put it,

> In repelling the Roman Catholic Religion, as something gross and monstrous, and, instead of filling, seeking to widen the unhappy breach that exists between us, we seem to be frustrating what are, or ought to be, our objects; and postponing (so far as human weakness can achieve this,) the day when the Great Shepherd shall have all his flock within one fold.[4]

They interpreted the alliance between the Catholic priesthood and O'Connellite nationalists, and the escalation in agrarian protest, as evidence that aggressive Protestantism did more to undermine than to bolster the elite. Whether or not it was realistic, the Irish Liberal Protestant solution was to try to disentangle religion from the way social, political and ethnic groups were defined. Therefore, they sought to replace 'Protestant Ascendancy' with a claim for elite

---

[3] The term 'Liberal Protestant' is used because this was the term used at the time. Thus Daniel O'Connell told the Select Committee on the State of Ireland that a 'liberal Protestant' was a Protestant who was a 'protector and friend' of the Catholic population, 'a Protestant who is not an Orangeman' and who had 'an opinion favourable to Catholic claims'. 1825 (181, 521) ix. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Lords Select Committee on the State of Ireland*; and 1825 (129) viii. *Report from the [Commons] Select Committee on the State of Ireland.*

All this group were members of the Church of Ireland specifically. They should not be called Liberal Anglicans, despite a degree of common ground between English and Irish religious liberalism, because this falsely implies that Irish Liberal ideas and motivations were wholly derived from Liberal churchmen in England.

[4] 'Athamik' [pseud.], *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora* (Dublin, 1820), 15-16. The issue of this pamphlet's authorship is discussed in detail below.

legitimacy. This legitimacy was based on their essential Irishness, on their capacity to provide morally responsible leadership, and on their capacity to achieve the social and political reform that would unify Irish society. This religious outlook, which formed the basis of Liberal social and political ideology, also provided a basis for co-operation across denominational divisions.

This particular group of families was drawn together by two aspects of their religious background. First, they shared an emphasis on piety and theological interest. Second, they were all descendants of Anglo-Norman and native Irish families that had converted from Catholicism to the Church of Ireland during the eighteenth century to avoid the Penal Laws, and this background made them particularly receptive to latitudinarian ideas. Moreover, their Liberal ideology was developed in the specific context of religious debate in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. These debates made available religiously based understandings of the individual and of moral responsibility, which were capable of forming the basis of Liberal social and political reform programmes.

Religious debate was widely recognised as a forum for political and social debate in Ireland, and religious language was a familiar medium for discussing social and political ideas at both clerical and popular levels. Religion also provided a powerful symbolic and practical way of marking social and political groups in Ireland. In 1834, 80.9 percent of the population in Ireland were Catholic. Among the Protestants, just over half were members of the Church of Ireland (Episcopalian), and the remainder were Dissenters (primarily made up of the various groups of Presbyterians, with an admixture of Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers).[5] Dissenters as a group were demographically focused in Ulster, but there were some significant small communities of Methodists and Quakers in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick. According to the first reliable figures on religious affiliation by region, in 1861 93.8 percent of the Munster population were Catholic, 3.9 percent were Church of Ireland, 0.3 percent were Presbyterian, 0.2 percent were Methodist, and 0.2 percent were classified as 'Other'. The Church of Ireland population had never been entirely elite, and there were

---

[5] 1835 (47) xxxiii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland*; W.E. Vaughan and A.J. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish Historical Statistics: population 1821-1971* (Dublin, 1978), 58-9. At that time, 75 percent of all Irish Protestants lived in Ulster, and slightly less than half of those were members of the Church of Ireland.

significant Church of Ireland middle- and working-class populations in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and throughout Ulster, which clung to Protestantism as a political and cultural signifier. In Cork, for example, Orange Lodge membership escalated during the 1820s, but the main growth was among the Protestant poor and tradesmen.[6] In Limerick, specifically, Church of Ireland membership could be roughly equated with elite status (including the minor gentry and the professions); there was a small German Palatine Methodist community, a few Methodist manufacturers, and about 2,000 Quakers; the remainder of the population were Catholic.

The legacy of the Penal Laws meant that very few Catholics were large property owners or had access to substantial wealth.[7] Sean Connolly and others have also pointed out how closely Ireland's economic divisions were correlated with its religious divisions in the pre-Famine era, and therefore how important religion was as a practical way of marking socio-economic groups.[8] Though religious exclusions were formally abolished in 1827-9, in practice Catholics continued to be under-represented or excluded from local government, national government, public positions and many of the professions.[9] With few exceptions nearly all positions of economic and political power in the southern counties continued to be held by Protestants. By the 1830s there was only one Catholic on the Limerick Municipal Corporation, and none on the Grand Jury or the magistracy (see Chapter 5). About 90 percent of the land in Ireland was owned by Protestants, and nearly all of this land was in portions of more than 35 acres. There was a Catholic group of 'strong farmers' who farmed land of up to 35 acres, but most Catholics worked land of under 5 acres or were landless agricultural labourers.[10]

---

[6] Peter Jupp and Stephen Royle, 'The social geography of Cork City elections, 1801-30', *IHS* 29:113 (May 1994), 13-43; Ian d'Alton, *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork* (Cork, 1980), 204-5. However, in the mid-1830s the reaction against Catholicism caused a growth in Orange Lodge membership and an influx of gentry.

[7] 1835 (47) xxxiii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland.*

[8] S.J. Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1985). The close mapping of religion to economic groups decreased in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Dublin, 1989, 2nd ed.); Patrick O'Flanagan, Paul Ferguson and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Rural Ireland 1600-1900: modernization and change* (Cork, 1987).

[9] Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997); Virgina Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994).

[10] David Dickson, 'Catholics and Trade in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: an old debate revisited' in T.P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth* century (Dublin, 1990), 85-100, esp. 90.

Catholics were, however, growing in importance as an emerging bourgeoisie of 'strong farmers', merchants, professionals, and tradesmen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Roughly one-third of these categories in the southern counties were Catholic by the 1820s.[11] Nearly all the Quakers in Limerick were merchants, but the remainder of the commercial and trades classes were Catholics. The 1861 census showed that 98 percent of all rural and urban workers in the three southern provinces of Ireland were Catholic, and the rural Catholic population was almost evenly divided between small tenant farmers and landless labourers. In political terms, too, religion was an important issue. Most of the Penal Laws had been repealed by 1793, and a substantial Catholic electorate had developed. Even so, until the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in 1827 and the Catholic Emancipation Act passed in 1829, Catholics continued to be legally excluded from local government, key administrative positions, and participation in the Westminster Parliament.[12] This amounted to a continued exclusion from power of the old Catholic gentry and emerging Catholic middle class of urban professionals and merchants, and the rural 'strong farmers'. Catholics had a specifically religious reason for dissatisfaction with the political system of Britain. Thus most historians of nationalism identify the development of a Catholic vote, the emerging political role of the Catholic priesthood, and the emergence of mass Catholic politics under O'Connell, as key elements in the development of an exclusively Catholic national identity.[13]

I. Religious Conflict

Religious opposition between Protestants and Catholics was boiling over in the 1820s period, partly because of the continuing symbolic importance of religion as a result of the penal era and increased Catholic popular mobilisation, and partly because of increasing Protestant missionary endeavour in Ireland. In addition, the attempts of the Catholic and Church of Ireland

---

[11] W.E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants 1848-1904* (Dublin, 1984); S.J. Connolly, *Priests and People in pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845* (Dublin, 1982), 27-8.

[12] Dissenters were also excluded from Westminster, although the Catholic exclusions were more prominent in the popular Irish mind.

[13] Jupp and Royle, 'Cork City elections', 13-43; Oliver MacDonagh, 'The politicization of Irish Catholic Bishops, 1800-1850', *HJ* 18 (1975), 37-53; M. Murphy, 'Repeal, popular politics, and the Catholic clergy in Cork 1840-50', *JCHAS* 81 (Jan-Dec 1977), 39-48; James O'Shea, *Priests, politics and society in post-Famine Ireland: a study of County Tipperary 1850-1891* (Dublin, 1983); J.H. Whyte, 'The influence of the catholic clergy on elections in Ireland', *English Historical Review* 75 (1960), 235-59.

clergies to gain control over the populace played an important role in religious debate. In particular, popular religious culture and 'superstition' were an important focus of the debates because of the theological issues involved.[14] The rise of evangelicalism after the turn of the century emphasised a shift towards a perception of unity among Protestants, and an opposition between Protestants and Catholics. The shared emphasis on conversion among different groups of evangelicals was based on the idea that revelation from the Bible made one aware of moral degradation and the need for conversion, and that atonement made moral reformation possible.[15] Bishop O'Brien went so far as to conclude that moral reformation from any other source was unreliable. As he said,

> a return to the thraldom of sin after a temporary escape from its yoke, can make the last state of a man worse than the first; and ... some are two-fold more children of hell than others.[16]

Individual degradation, immorality, and ignorance were seen as proof that Catholics were unregenerate, and also that the ignorant Catholic populace had no defence against a corrupt priesthood. By 1815 the growing Second Reformation Movement took on the belief that conversion was the only possible way of resolving these problems. Among evangelicals, proselytism increasingly overshadowed the other tools in the Ascendancy's armoury for achieving the civilisation and moral regeneration of Ireland. This was a change from the emphasis of the years immediately after the Union, and it was also different from the situation in England where the conversion of the small Catholic community was considered less urgent.

This growing opposition to Catholicism and emphasis on aggressive proselytism was encouraged by the active Evangelical patronage of a few well-placed bishops like Power le Poer Trench (Archbishop of Tuam), by the publicity given to missionary activities in Ireland, and the Catholic response to that publicity.[17] Irish missionary societies focused on the

---

[14] R.P. Jenkins, 'Witches and Fairies: supernatural aggression and deviance among the Irish peasantry', *Ulster Folklife* 23 (1977), 33-56. See also Jacqueline Hill, 'The intelligentsia and Irish nationalism in the 1840s', *Studia Hibernica* 20 (1980), 73-110, who notes that O'Connell also sought the reformation of the religious tradition through the application of scientific and rational principles, and in particular renounced superstition in favour of moral reformation (104).

[15] James T. O'Brien, *Attempt to Explain and Establish the Doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone in Ten Sermons on the Nature and Effect of Faith* (Cambridge, 1833, 2nd ed.), 46-9.

[16] *Ibid.*, 230-1.

[17] David Hempton, 'Gideon Ouseley: rural revivalist, 1791-1839' in W.J. Sheils and Diana

distribution of English and Irish Bibles and Irish-speaking missionaries in the West of Ireland. In the first three decades of the nineteenth century close links were developed between the inter-denominational missionary movement (in such societies as the Hibernian Bible Society) and inter-denominational improvement societies. Their inter-denominational evangelicalism and aggressive character was further developed by organisations like the Irish Reformation Society, which was led by the English militant Evangelical, Edward Irving.[18]

The Church of Ireland's clerical involvement in the Crusade escalated in the sermons of Bishops Mant (1820), Magee (1822), Trench (1823) and Carlow (1824). Bishop Mant's 1820 Visitation Sermon in Galway was an important turning point in the Irish religious context. It focused the Catholic backlash and also drew the criticism of some of the local Protestant gentry. The sermon provoked so many death threats that Mant had to post armed guards at his palace and he unsuccessfully attempted a retreat back to England.[19] Mant's comments were a rallying call to all those who sought Catholic conversions, but they also represented a major escalation because Mant encouraged his clergy to move out of the Churches and into the community itself.[20] By 1822 the Evangelical Rev. Richard Murray was following Mant's advice in his parish of Askeaton in County Limerick. He and his wife first opened Scriptural schools (with £200 of Bible Society backing). They were virulently opposed by the local priest, Father Fitzgerald, who warned his parishioners about the subtle means that were being used to undermine their faith, and forbade them from reading the Bible.[21] Undeterred by this initial failure, Murray 'went forward in the strength of the Lord, and gave cottage-lectures' while his wife established a female school in their home; rather than relying on institutional methods, they took their preaching to the people directly and were proud that 'intelligent English-speaking Romanists ... flocked to [them] for instruction'. By 1826 they counted more than 470 converts,

---

Wood (eds), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish* (Oxford, 1989), 209.

[18] Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: a study of Protestant-Catholic relations between the Act of Union and Disestablishment* (Dublin, 1978), 202.

[19] W.B. Mant, *Bishop Mant and his Diocese* (Dublin, 1857).

[20] Richard Mant, *A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Killaloe, at the Primary Visitation, Thursday August the third, 1820* (Dublin, 1820), 25-6.

[21] Godfrey Massy, *The Faithful Shepherd: memoir, with sketches of his times* ed. Dawson Massy (London, 1870, 4th ed. [1855]), 82-3; John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the present time* (Dublin, 1938), 446.

though they included children in this tally.[22] This success was apparently short-lived, and no doubt was curtailed by the consistent sectarian violence in the area, because Murray moved north to Ardagh. Father Fitzpatrick's successful opposition to proselytising missionaries was rewarded with an Archdeaconry.[23]

Power le Poer Trench, Archbishop of Tuam, was an important militant leader within the Protestant Crusade, who made militant Evangelicalism a clerical pre-requisite in his diocese. As he told the Hibernian Bible Society, 'if we were not proselytisers we could lay no claim to the name of Christians.'[24] This link between Bible Societies and Evangelical clergy was emphasised by missionaries like Rev. Robert Daly.[25] His first entry into public debate was in November 1824 at the annual meeting of the Carlow Auxiliary Bible Society, which took the form of an open debate between the major Protestant missionaries (including the Revs. Edward Wingfield[26], Richard Pope and Robert Daly) and the local Catholic priesthood (including Fathers Nolan, O'Connell, McSweeny and Clowry). The Protestant intention had been to confront the Catholic Bishop Doyle, to 'beard the lion in his den', but Doyle did not attend. The meeting degenerated into a riot, and Wingfield, Daly and Pope had to escape from an 'infuriated rabble' over an eight-foot wall.[27] Still, the Hibernian Bible Society reported that their representatives were the winners of the day. Pope and Daly began tours through Ireland, speaking at Bible Society meetings, which were important in spreading the Protestant Crusade throughout Ireland.[28] According to Pope, their aim was to

> emancipate our R.C. countrymen from that prison in which they are confined. Ignorance and her offspring, priestly domination, confederated with prejudice and

---

[22] *Ibid.*. Massy's claim that Jebb fully supported Murray's work was not wholly accurate. Jebb never actually arrived at Askeaton to assess the situation because he had a stroke which paralysed his right hand and retired to England. See also Begley, *Diocese of Limerick*, 446-7.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Trench, as president of the [Royal] Hibernian Bible Society, 1827, quoted in J.D. Sirr, *A Memoir of Power Le Poer Trench, Last Archbishop of Tuam* (Dublin, 1845), 487.

[25] Daly was the Rector of Powerscourt in County Wicklow in 1814 where he was deeply involved in the Evangelical endeavours of Lord and Lady Farnham, and the Bishop of Cashel during the 1840s.

[26] Wingfield was Rector of the parish Church of Powerscourt until his death in 1825. Robert Daly, *Sermon, preached in the parish church of Powerscourt, 9 Nov. 1825, on the death of the Honourable and Reverend E. Wingfield* (Dublin, 1825).

[27] Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, 74.

[28] For example, Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 83, 114-19.

> intimidation, keep their zealous watch before the gate; but the weapons that are taken from the armoury of Heaven, are mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongest holds of error. The entrance has been forced, the guards have been overpowered, and many captives have been delivered, while hundreds appear at their prison bars, with weeping eyes and anxious hearts, imploring the friends of truth to set them free.[29]

Bible Society meetings became a focal point in the fierce debate between evangelicals on one hand, and Catholic priests supported by O'Connell on the other.[30] The local reaction was strong and immediate, in sectarian violence, and in the wide circulation of ballads and broadsheets which ridiculed Bible Societies.[31] Thus in 1824 a man was jailed in Limerick City for 'singing and vending in the streets an impious halfpenny ballad' on the subject of Bible Societies, which promised that 'aid from foreign powers would ultimately crush the system [of proselytism] in these countries.'[32]

Those Protestants who participated in the Protestant Crusade identified an indissoluble link between British identity, anglicisation, and evangelical Protestant religion. Moral degradation within the public sphere was considered proof that Ireland's Catholicism made it an unregenerate nation, whereas Britain's divine favour was shown by the development of its civilisation. Ireland was contrasted with Britain by 'the mass of evils, national, social, and spiritual' which weighed her down. However, through 'the grand moral lever' of the Bible, Britain could make it possible for 'the Spirit of God [to] move on the face of the deep.'[33] Conversion of the Irish population to Protestantism was a necessary precursor to the improvement of Ireland, because a society's improvement was directly analogous to the way in which the individual's recognition of his degradation must precede his conversion and subsequent reformation. Protestant Britain had a duty to convert Ireland, in exactly the same way that the individual cleric had a duty to convert heathens within his parish. As the President of the Royal Hibernian Society put it,

---

[29] Speech to Auxilliary Bible Society, 1826, quoted in Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 84-5.

[30] Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 83.

[31] James S. Donnelly jnr, 'Pastorini and Captain Rock: millenarianism and sectarianism in the Rockite movement of 1821-4' in Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly jnr (eds), *Irish Peasants: violence and political unrest 1780-1914* (Manchester, 1983), 122-3. See also Irene Whelan, 'Evangelical religion and the polarisation of Protestant-Catholic relations in Ireland, 1780-1840' (PhD, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990).

[32] *DEP*, 13 Nov. 1824.

[33] *41st Report of the Hibernian Bible Society* (Dublin, 1847), xliii-xliv.

> the British nation has been exalted into circumstances of which many had little or no conception, involving duty and obligation from which there is no escape - raised up, in the providence of God, mainly as a witness to the truth.[34]

The Union was a conduit though which the benefits of British civilisation, and Protestantism, would flow into Ireland, and indeed Britain had a responsibility to ensure that this happened. Godfrey Massy also argued that the Church of Ireland was itself the beneficiary of divine intervention, which proved its superiority over the Catholic Church:

> The great increase of vital religion, not only amongst ourselves, but amongst our people of all classes, from the *peer* to the *peasant*; the blessings brought out of the attacks upon us from without, through their being made the instrument of directing public opinion against our abuses, and in thus reforming our Church-system; and the missionary efforts for evangelizing our poor Romish countrymen, are manifest proofs of the outpouring of the HOLY SPIRIT on the Church of Ireland.[35]

After Catholic Emancipation in 1829, Evangelical clerics within the Church of Ireland developed a much more defensive, inward-looking garrison mentality. They became less concerned than before with a mission to the whole of Irish society, and this further intensified the notion of exclusively Protestant citizenship.[36] By the 1830s Evangelicals became more concerned with keeping Popishness out of the Establishment, than with militant missionary work.[37] In Limerick, Massy showed that this Evangelical defence of Protestant ascendancy and citizenship was one of the impulses in the formation of Brunswick Clubs after Catholic Emancipation:[38]

> I commend you for extending your anti-popery principles as widely as you can, but remember, with a Christian spirit, the wisdom of the serpent and simplicity of the dove. We are all aroused here. The Limerick Brunswick Club is very respectable, and I am glad to say that our family take the lead in the loyal spirit. I trust it will not evaporate with the occasion, but settle in a firm, steady, and decided opposition to the inroads of popery. There is an awful crisis approaching. Let our prayers ascend to God, that it be overruled to His glory, and the extension of His spiritual kingdom. ... We expect a burst of ungovernable fury this winter, but "the wrath of man shall praise God, and the remainder of wrath will He restrain".[39]

---

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Visitation Sermon*, Limerick Cathedral, 4 Sept. 1834 in Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 242.

[36] Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, 79.

[37] This was also linked to an awareness of the growing Oxford movement in 1830s England. See a later example of this in J.T. O'Brien, *Tractarianism: its present state and the only safeguard against it* (Dublin 1850).

[38] Brunswick Constitutional Clubs were formed in 1828 as a response to Catholic mobilisation, and were intended as a defense of a Protestant Constitution and a Protestant Ascendancy. This topic is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

[39] Godfrey Massy to brother Dawson Massy, 5 Nov. 1829, quoted in Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*,

He was now less concerned about institutional reform within the Church of Ireland, than with defence within the Church against Popish influences and ideas. The main defence of the Church of Ireland was now directed at an attack on Catholicism. Massy began to see every initiative in terms of this battle between Protestantism and Catholicism, even the creation of a society to care for orphans:

> *Now* is the time to put forth all your strength, and to advance in one united phalanx to the "help of the Lord against the mighty." Here is a glorious opportunity for securing the continuance of Protestantism in our city and country, by preserving the seed of our dear departed brethren, which, under God's blessing, may increase and multiply, and grow up a mighty and numerous race ... [and thus defeat the twin enemies of Protestantism:] the infusion of a nominal Protestantism, and ... a bloodthirsty Romanism.[40]

He argued that the Church of Ireland had little choice but to align itself with the British State because of the growing pressure for reductions in the number of Church of Ireland clergy and the abolition of tithes and, ultimately, the threat of Disestablishment. Evangelicals increasingly defended this Establishment against an aggressive Catholic priesthood, which they believed sought to overthrow both Protestantism and the Union. As Godfrey Massy told his Protestant audience,

> As for us, your ministers, we have, in GOD's strength, *nailed our colours to the mast*, with the watchward [sic] "No Surrender!" We have resolved to hold our ground; stripped of our lawful rights; diminished in number; defamed in character; threatened in our lives; fearless, for that the battle is the LORD's. ... Onward! Onward is our march! ... "No peace with Rome - till Rome makes peace with GOD!" and GOD defend the right![41]

An understanding of these issues is crucial because the clash between the Second Reformation movement and the Catholic Church was a major factor in development of the 'two nations' model. James Doyle (Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin) was one of the central figures in what became a head-on collision between the Second Reformation Movement and the Catholic Church. It was he who wrote some of the most virulent pamphlet replies, including a reply to Magee's 1822 *Charge*, in which Doyle challenged the Church of Ireland on the issue of tithes.[42] The Catholic priesthood became increasingly alarmed at the conversion figures

---

137-8. John Martin, *Report of Speech at the First general Meeting of the Brunswick Constitutional Club of Ireland Held in the Rotunda, 4 Nov. 1828* (Dublin, 1828).

[40] Godfrey Massy, Speech at the Limerick Protestant Orphan Meeting, 5 Mar. 1835, quoted in Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 244-6.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] [J.W. Doyle (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *A Letter to ... the Protestant Archbishop of*

published in the Methodist connexional magazines, and this produced an increasing opposition to the proselytising inter-denominational societies. The situation culminated in 1823-24 with an assault on the Society for Promoting the education of the Poor in Ireland, (known as the Kildare Place Society) which was led by Bishop Doyle, and which resulted in the withdrawal of Catholic support.[43]

At the popular level in Limerick, there was substantial religious conflict. In particular, the violent agrarian movement of 'Captain Rock' had a virulent anti-Protestant and millenarian element. The Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan argued that there was a striking increase in aggression and religious animosity displayed in the penny tracts and ballads that were distributed in County Limerick during 1817-18; which he said was a direct reaction to the increase in Protestant missionary activity and attempts at Proselytism.[44] Between 1822 and 1825 the Italian Pastorini prophecies were widely distributed among Catholics in Munster by the Rockites. These prophecies predicted that the Final Battle would occur in 1825, at which time all the Protestants would be exterminated and the world would end.[45] In response, Bishop Doyle issued Pastoral Letters in 1822 and 1825, which condemned agrarian violence and membership of secret societies, and urgently tried to dissuade the people from millenarian fervour.[46] However, this millenarian fervour seemed to be unstoppable, and was reinforced by economic hardship, famine, and cholera outbreaks in the early 1820s.[47] For example, the famine in 1822 produced a level of fear which was evident in a Rockite manifesto posted in County Limerick in January 1822:

> Hearken unto me, ye men of Ireland, and hear my voice! Arise, O! Milesians; the day of our deliverance is coming, when the trumpet beats to arms. ... Your eyes shall have no pity on the breed of Luther, for he had no pity on us. Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land

---

Dublin [Magee] in reply to his sermon of 24 Oct. 1822 (Dublin, 1822).

[43] [Bishop James W. Doyle], *Lettters on the State of Education in Ireland; and on Bible Societies* (Dublin, 1824).

[44] [Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan], *Captain Rock Detected. By 'a Munster Farmer'* (London, 1824), 282-3.

[45] 1825 (200) vii. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee on Disturbances in Ireland,* 142-3 (Major Warburton's evidence, 26 May 1824); See also Donnelly, 'Pastorini and Captain Rock'.

[46] J.W. Doyle (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *Pastoral Address... on Ribbonism* (Dublin, 1822), and *Pastoral Address... Lent 1825* (Carlow, 1825).

[47] Donnelly, 'Pastorini and Captain Rock', 125-6.

> desolate. ... You see misery upon misery is come upon us. Seldom a day passes that our cattle is [sic] not canted by the roguery and oppression of our landlords. We have nothing left but to die valiantly or starve. We are the most miserable people on the face of the earth, while the sons of perdition are satisfying their appetite, luxury, and gluttony abroad. ... Lament and mourn, ye hereticks, for the day of your destruction is come.[48]

This manifesto went on to declare that it was the duty of the Catholics to refuse to pay tithes or taxes, 'for before full six months is over, I will be at the head of an army of two hundred and forty thousand men.'[49] At least five Protestant Churches in County Limerick were been fired in the three months between December 1821 and February 1822.[50]

Popular sectarian animosity was closely linked with aggression against the Yeomanry Corps and the Police, both because of their religious affiliations and because they usually enforced evictions. As a flier in County Limerick put it,

> Those dog teachers, the police, have no mercy on them, for it is no sin to kill hereticks. It was never so easy to masacre [sic] them as now. There shall be one conflagration made of them from sea to sea.[51]

Protestants outnumbered Catholics by nearly three to one in the new police force established Limerick in 1822, and Major Willcocks admitted to a parliamentary committee in 1824 that he had found it necessary to suppress Orange Lodge activity among his men, soon after his appointment.[52] The Yeomanry Corps in the south-west were almost exclusively Protestant, and were heavily supported in Limerick and Kerry by the Methodist Palatine community. As a result, there were a number of attacks on Palatines in Limerick during the early 1820s. The most serious was in Glenasheen, County Limerick when a band of about one hundred Rockites attacked the community in April 1823, with the object of murdering the 'Protestant Palatine devils' and seizing their arms.[53]

---

[48] Manifesto 'published by Capt. Storm and Steele', 5 Jan. 1822, NAI, SOC 1: 2350/5.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *DEP*, 1 Dec. 1821; 12 Jan. 1822, 12 Feb. 1822, 26 Feb. 1822, 20 Sept. 1823.

[51] Flier, n.d. [c. Jan. 1922], NAI, SOC 1: 2350/5.

[52] 1824 (257) xxii. *Abstract of returns relative to magistrates, constables, and subconstables appointed under the constables' act for Ireland*, 405; 1825 (200),vii. *Select Committee on the State of Ireland, Minutes of Evidence*, 49 and 501. On links between Orange Lodges and the Yeomanry, see also Allan F. Blackstock, '"A dangerous species of ally": Orangeism and the Irish Yeomanry', *IHS* 30:119 (May 1997), 393-405.

[53] 1825(181) ix. *Select Committee on the State of Ireland Minutes of Evidence*, 141-2 (Daniel O'Connell's evidence); Charles D. Oliver to William Gregory, 1 May 1823, NAI, SOC

Donnelly has reminded us that although Munster agrarian violence declined in late 1824, this was partly due to agricultural improvement and partly to the emergence of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association. Rockites, Whiteboys, Ribbonmen, Caravets and Shanavests all flocked to the Catholic Association because they saw O'Connell as the scatterer of heretics predicted by Pastorini, who would lead an armed revolt.[54] It can hardly be denied that O'Connell was extremely effective in harnessing popular Catholicism, millenarianism, and growing clericalism.[55]

The legacy of the Penal Laws, the religious conflict of the Protestant Crusade, the continuing significance of religion as a social and economic signifier, and the re-emergence of religion as a political issue, seem to amount to a conclusive case that Irish ethnicity was defined in religious terms by the end of the eighteenth century; and that the historical circumstances of the Union transformed this ethnicity into an Irish Catholic national identity. By the 1820s it seemed that Irish identity was Catholic, and British identity was Protestant. O'Connell habitually used the term 'Catholic Ireland', and his view was shared by many contemporaries.[56] As Father Collins told the 1825 State of Ireland Committee,

> The true meaning of [Sassenach] is Englishman. There is no Irish term for Protestant. They first knew a Protestant in the person only of the Englishman, and therefore they have identified it with him; nor have they any Irish terms for Catholics. They say Catholickey in Irish, but when they contrast a Protestant with a Catholic, Erinech (Irishman) is the term for a Catholic.[57]

On the face of it, then, it seems impossible that a Protestant gentry group could claim Irish identity, let alone claim leadership of that emerging nation. Their Protestantism seemed conclusively to exclude them from an ethnic identity that was defined in wholly religious terms. This was the view taken by many of the Protestant elite, like the Rev. Godfrey Massy, who focused their claim for leadership upon a clear-cut identification with the powerful British State, and then sought to assert control over the Irish population through force and mass conversion.

1:2517/26.

[54] Donnelly, 'Pastorini and Captain Rock', 136-7.

[55] See also Irene Whelan, 'Evangelical religion'.

[56] Oliver MacDonagh, *O'Connell: The life of Daniel O'Connell 1775-1847* (London, 1990, one-volume edition).

[57] 1825 (181, 521) Ix. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Lords Select Committee on the State of Ireland*, 61 (Father Collins' evidence), quoted in Desmond Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), 29.

This does not mean that these Irish Protestants automatically did the bidding of the British State. They were acting to protect their own unstable position within Ireland, and many had little real concern with internal English affairs. Still, Jacqueline Hill makes clear that even the 'Irish patriots' who had opposed the Union in 1800, found it necessary to become Unionists by the 1820s. They were willing to accept greater identification with the British nation because of its capacity to protect their status within Ireland as an unambiguously Protestant elite.[58] Those members of the elite who saw themselves, and were identified by others, as Protestant and British, were excluded from an emerging popular view of the Irish nation as Catholic. Where they continued to identify with Irishness, this was related to a sense of place and geography, a long-standing connection with Ireland, family links, and it was sometimes also a matter of Gaelic and Irish heritage. It was not, in the main, a sense of cultural or religious connection with the remainder of the Irish population.

However, while this clear-cut view of ethnic and national identities, based wholly on religious affiliation, seems to explain some of the social and political developments during the 1820s, it is far from satisfactory as an entire explanation. Religious language did provide a framework for debating a whole range of social, political, cultural, and economic issues, and this language was dominated by a consciousness of binary opposition in this period. However, this did not prevent some groups from asserting what seemed to be contradictory attachments, and from using religious language to do so. It should have been impossible for Irish Liberals to assert British Protestant identity and simultaneously support Catholic Emancipation and claim Irish identity as well. Furthermore, it should have been inconceivable that they should be able to use this stance to claim legitimate leadership within Ireland in the face of O'Connellite nationalism. However, all of this was possible because the relationship between religion and ethnicity was not quite as clear-cut before the Famine as historians have suggested.

The identification of Catholic with Irish, and Protestant with British, was more a convenient short-hand than a universal and immutable rule. The generalised division into Catholic Irish and Protestant British obscured a complex pattern of religious groupings and beliefs which had a major impact on the conflicts involved, and upon the development of ideas

---

[58] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 374-5.

of national identity. The religious focus was modified in local communities, where people knew each other and had reputations, and where other issues were also important. Thus it mattered little whether an agent was Catholic or Protestant; if he gained a reputation for evictions or unsympathetic rent collection, then he could expect a violent reaction. For instance, when Lord Courtenay's agent evicted large numbers of tenants from his estate around Newcastle West in County Limerick in 1824, the agent's religion was irrelevant to the Rockite decision to exclude him from the nation in the most effective manner possible - murder.[59] Indeed, Joseph Lee has argued that agrarian violence was focused more on 'strong' Catholic farmers and Catholic land-agents than on Protestant landlords, because agrarian violence was a response to economic modernisation more than an attack on Protestantism.[60] Beames is surely correct that most assassinations were not perpetrated for religious or nationalist reasons in any direct sense. Of the twenty-seven assassinations he identified in Tipperary, nineteen were committed as a direct result of evictions or restrictions in land-use.[61] Obviously, religion, nationality, and economic issues were entwined, but the real significance of Beames' evidence is that this relationship was not stable by the 1820s, nor can agrarian violence be taken to demonstrate such a clear-cut link unequivocally.[62] Because the relationship between religion, ethnicity, and national identity was complex, contested, and historically contingent, there was much more room for manoeuvre by the various social and political groups that were seeking to define national identity, than has previously been recognised. While Irishness was equated in general terms with Catholicism, and Britishness with Protestantism, there was also a significant degree of disagreement, which could be used by the various social and political groups that claimed the right to define identity in Ireland. In the pre-Famine period these claims were many and varied, from an Irish Patriot-turned-Unionist claim, to a Liberal Protestant claim, to O'Connell, to a

---

[59] *DEP*, 3 Feb.1824; 1825 (200) vii. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee on Disturbances in Ireland*, 49, 501.

[60] J.J. Lee, 'The Ribbonmen' in T.D. Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin, 1973), 28-30. This was also the case during the Land War of 1879-82.

[61] M.R. Beames, 'Rural Conflict in pre-Famine Ireland: peasant assassinations in Tipperary, 1827-1847' reprinted in C.H.E. Philpin, *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1987), 275-6. See also M.R. Beames, *Peasants and Power: the Whiteboy movements and their control in pre-Famine Ireland* (Brighton, 1983). He also shows that less than half of these assassinations were committed against Protestants.

[62] *cf.* Tom Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981) and Thomas Bartlett, 'An End to Moral Economy: The Irish Militia disturbances of 1793' reprinted in Philpin,

Catholic clerical claim headed by Bishop Doyle, and to a Catholic bourgeois claim (exemplified by the Roche cousins).[63]

It is not self-evident that Irish ethnicity was ever wholly defined in religious terms in this period. Religion was certainly an important element, and one signifier of shared heritage. However, there were other fissures in Irish society that did not always follow religious demarcations. For example, names, family links, and Gaelic cultural practices were to some extent independent of religious affiliation. This was demonstrated by the fact that some families that had converted during the eighteenth century continued to claim Gaelic identity. Thus the fit between religion and ethnic identity was never perfect. Second, the nature of 'religion' was changing, and this affected the relationship between religious identification and ethnicity. Third, although there was an established elite group, there were a growing number of groups that challenged this old elite, and attempted to assert control over popular culture. Finally, there was as much variation among Protestants as there was among Catholics. It was possible for some Protestants to detach Irish ethnicity from religious affiliation. This approach taken by those groups like the Limerick Liberals who found themselves caught between different ethnic and religious categories. Separating their sense of ethnicity from their religion allowed these people to claim Irishness without requiring their conversion back to Catholicism.

Of particular importance was the changing relationship between institutional and lay religion, which showed that the relationship between institutional Catholicism and Irishness or Gaelic culture was not straightforward in the pre-Famine period. Reforms within the Catholic Church as an institution, which were aimed at trying to bring popular religion under its control, demonstrate that popular and institutional religion were far from synonymous. First, institutional religion among the Catholic community was limited by the dearth of priests. There were only 52 priests in the diocese of Limerick by 1800. This figure rose to 123 by 1834-5, but even this higher level represented a ratio of only 1 priest for every 2,615 Catholics in Limerick. In addition, most priests were concentrated in the towns, and not in the rural areas where some 90

Nationalism and Popular Protest, 191-218.

[63] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*; and see Chapter 5 for discussion of William and James Roche.

percent of the population lived.[64] In the early nineteenth century the Church found it necessary to attempt to increase the ratio of priests to people, and to encourage the peasants to go to Church more.[65]

There is a case to be made that many of the cultural differences in Ireland contained elements of conflict between elite and popular culture. For this reason, it is important to distinguish between popular lay religion and institutional religion, and between institutional Catholic religious culture and Gaelic religious practice in the pre-Famine period. There were important fissures within 'Catholic Ireland', both within the lay population, and at the institutional level. For example, around Bruff in County Limerick, 'strong' farming families and their servants went to separate chapels for Sunday worship, and this continued as late as the 1860s. Mary Fogarty related that her family were much more inclined to orthodox Catholic religion, while the maids employed in her household were

> thankful for holy days and went to mass, [but] they were really more interested in an old Irish world where fairies, witches, and banshees took the place of our angels and saints.[66]

Catholicism, as it was represented at the level of popular culture, may well have been more Gaelic than Catholic in the institutional sense. Indeed Evans has made a convincing case that what has been interpreted as popular Catholic practices in the first half of the nineteenth century, were in fact Gaelic cultural practices that were derived from the relationship between this European pre-industrial 'peasant culture' and its environment, and not from an institutional

---

[64] Patrick J. O'Connor, 'The maturation of town and village life in County Limerick 1700-1900', in W.J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland* (Cork,1988), 149-72, especially 164-5. Figures based on 1835 (47) xxxiii. *First Report of the Commissions of Public Instruction Ireland*, 69 and 182-213. See also Patrick O'Flanagan, 'Urban minorities and majorities: Catholics and Protestants in Munster towns c.1659-1850' in Smyth and Whelan, *Common Ground*, 124-48.

[65] Miller estimated that in the West of Ireland less than half of the Catholic population were regularly attending mass. David W. Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', *Journal of Social History*, 9 (1975-6), 81-98. These estimates have been revised upward by Patrick Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985) but Miller's overall conclusions have remained intact. In general, rural Catholics performed no more than the minimum that was required by the Church in terms of attendance, confession, and communion. Connolly, *Religion and Society*, 48-9. *cf.* Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992), ch. 10, esp. 342-47.

[66] Mary Carbery, *The Farm by Lough Gur: the story of Mary Fogarty* (Cork, 1973 [1937]), 25 and 157-8. This issue is discussed in Connolly, *Priests and People*, ch.3.

religion.[67]

This blurring of Gaelic popular culture with religious culture, and the assumption that both were somehow connected with institutional Catholic religion, needs careful analysis. There is no doubt that religious culture was closely integrated with Gaelic popular culture, and together they formed an important distinction between different social groups in Ireland. However, the assumption that popular religious culture flowed from institutional religion, was controlled by the priesthood and that this devotional revolution was complete by the early 1820s, is more difficult to sustain. In this period there was still a strong contrast between popular and institutional religion in 1820s and 1830s, and between popular and elite culture, even within the Gaelic community. The distinctions between institutional and lay or popular religion, were almost as important as those between Protestant and Catholic.[68]

Although both the Church of Ireland and the Catholic Church were undergoing institutional reform and expansion, and devotional revolutions, there is substantial debate about how quickly and comprehensively these effects were felt by the populace.[69] There were attempts by the Catholic clergy, and by Archbishop Doyle in particular, to reform the Catholic Church and to assert clerical control over popular religious belief. Nevertheless, this process was not complete by the early 1820s.[70] The upper echelons of the Catholic Church encouraged clerical participation in traditional Gaelic practices and beliefs, just so long as those practices did not go against institutional religious belief. Where the Church considered Gaelic popular

---

[67] E. Estyn Evans, 'Peasant beliefs in nineteenth-century Ireland' in Daniel Casey and Robert Rhodes (eds), *Views of the Irish Peasantry* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1977), 37-56.

[68] Lawrence J. Taylor, 'The languages of belief: nineteenth-century religious discourse in southwest Donegal', in Marilyn Silverman and P.H.Gulliver (eds), *Approaching the Past* (New York, 1992), 142-75; Evans, 'Peasant beliefs'; and Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997) which deals with an earlier period.

[69] See Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic Church in County Tipperary 1700-1900' in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: History and society* (Dublin 1985), 215-55. See debate on the Catholic devotional revolution between Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *American Historical Review* 80 (1972), 625-52; Miller, 'Irish Catholicism'; and Desmond Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1983); see also Sheridan Gilley, 'The Catholic Church and Revolution' in D.G. Boyce (ed.), *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (Dublin, 1988), 157-72; and Thomas McGrath, 'The tridentine evolution of modern Irish Catholicism; a re-examination of the "devotional revolution" thesis' in Réomonn O Muiri (ed.), *Irish Church History Today* (Armagh, 1991), 84-99.

[70] Thomas McGrath, *Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin: A study of religious renewal and reform* (Dublin, forthcoming).

culture to conflict with Catholicism, it tried to replace popular beliefs and practices. Belief in fairies and banshees, and participation in wakes and 'patterns' was frowned upon by the Church.[71] For example, in 1805 Bishop Michael Peter MacMahan of Killaloe noted that he was trying to suppress patterns or 'pilgrimages to wells and which commonly ended in bloodshed, drunkenness, and debauchery.'[72] There is no evidence that these efforts were successful by the 1820s, but efforts at suppressing the largest and most popular patterns were re-doubled in the late 1820s by a growing Catholic bourgeois laity and clergy, who were embarrassed by Protestant criticisms that they were unable to influence popular morality and activities.[73] Local and smaller patterns remained in County Limerick until the 1880s, but by then they involved substantial institutional religious elements. In 1884 the annual pilgrimage to St Joseph's well was observed on St Joseph's Day, accompanied by a Catholic priest who recited the Rosary at the holy well, before the 'usual devotions were gone through, the time-honored service of "rounds" being observed with all fervour'.[74] Even though substantial popular religious elements remained, they were by the 1880s overlaid with institutional religion and they no longer had connotations of drunken debauchery.[75] A further example in one County Limerick parish, was where the local priest tried to use popular belief to reinforce institutional religion by attending the lighting of a midsummer bonfire, and then leading the people in prayers.[76] This attempt to replace popular 'superstition' with institutional religious practice, and to assert control over popular morality, was matched by the Church's systematic opposition to agrarian violence and popular millenarianism during the 1820s, and by its involvement in the temperance movement in the 1840s.[77] Despite all these activities, the Catholic Church cannot be regarded as having

---

[71] On fairies, see Taylor, 'Languages of belief'; R.P. Jenkins, 'Witches and Fairies', 33-56. On wakes see J.G.A. Prim, 'Olden popular pastimes in Kilkenny', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2 (1853), 333-4; William Carleton, 'Larry McFarland's Wake' in William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (New York, 1862 [1830-33]) i. 84-114; Séan O Súlleabhain, *Irish Wake Amusements* (Cork, 1967), 166-74.

[72] Bishop Michael Peter MacMahon quoted in Murphy, *Diocese of Killaloe*, 356-7.

[73] Murphy, *Diocese of Killaloe*, 356-359; Connolly, *Priests and People*, 159-65.

[74] Maurice Lenihan, *Independent and Munster Advertiser*, 22 Mar. 1884.

[75] J. Hogan, 'Patron Days and Holy Wells in Ossory', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 12 (1873), 261-81.

[76] Kevin Danaher, *The Year in Ireland* (Cork, 1972), 135, cited in Connolly, *Priests and People*, 113.

[77] Elizabeth Malcolm, *Ireland Sober, Ireland Free, drink and temperance in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1986), 54.

completed the job of asserting control over the Irish population by the 1820s, in religion, cultural practice, or in morality.

Furthermore, this attempt by the Catholic hierarchy to eradicate popular religious practices means that historians cannot assume that any decline in popular culture was synonymous with cultural anglicisation. Both Protestant and Catholic clergies were trying to eradicate the same popular religious practices and beliefs, which were associated with popular Gaelic culture. Therefore, the conflict between Protestant and Catholic religion at the institutional levels was complicated by a conflict between popular religion and institutional religion, and between popular and elite culture, that existed within both Churches. As the Gaelic scholar and Ordinance Surveyor John O'Donovan argued in 1837, Catholic 'priests ... [are] inclining very much to Protestant notions, and putting an end to all ... venerable old customs.'[78]

Therefore, the relationship between religion and ethnicity in the pre-Famine period was far more complex than has been suggested by historians such as O'Farrell, Bowen, and Pringle.[79] It is too simplistic to suggest that Irish ethnicity in this period was defined by institutional religion and obedience to the priesthood. Despite the reforms imposed by Bishop Doyle and others, the process of establishing a firm hierarchy of control, from Catholic bishops to parish priests to the lay Catholic population, was far from complete by the 1820s.[80] Instead, in the early nineteenth century, institutional religion was a thin overlay upon less formalised popular religious belief and culture, and its leadership was still in dispute.[81] Therefore, the significance of the clash between Protestants and Catholics in the 1820s was that it provided important reference points which compelled response; it did not represent an all-encompassing and uncontested way of defining identity in this period. Instead, there were a number of

---

[78] Quoted in Connolly, *Priests and People*, 112-13.

[79] Patrick O'Farrell, *Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish relations 1534-1970* (London, 1971); Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, 3; D.G. Pringle, *One Island, Two Nations? a political geographical analysis of the national conflict in Ireland* (Letchworth, 1985).

[80] Murphy, *Diocese of Killaloe*, ch.10, 332-71.

[81] Taylor, 'languages of belief'. This was also true of Protestant popular religious belief. See Myrtle Hill, 'Popular Protestantism in Ulster in the Post-Rebellion Period, c.1790-1810', *Studies in Church History* 25 (1989), 191-202; and Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997). This book covers an earlier period, but many of its conclusions are relevant to the nineteenth century.

different responses, because the religious reality in Ireland was complex and changing.

Finally, the political role of the Church and its priesthood needs clarification. The degree of authority held by the priesthood within the community, and the degree to which they were able to influence voters has been the subject of historical debate.[82] Certainly many of the O'Connellite marches held in Limerick between 1826 and 1829 were led by priests, and in Richard Bourke's local parish of Castleconnell there was substantial opposition to Father Michael Crotty, who refused to collect the Catholic rent.[83] On the other hand, the relative paucity of priests, their limited contact with the populace in any one week, and resistance to their attempts to gain moral authority, suggest that the priesthood's political role has been overplayed.[84] It is possible that a Catholic basis for Irish identity was exaggerated by O'Connell, despite his rather tense relationship with the Catholic Church. This relationship was also magnified by non-liberal Protestants who feared a Popish plot. Connolly also made the point that the Catholic episcopate had to balance their opposition to Gaelic popular culture with an overall support of the political cause, in order to protect their status as part of a legitimate Irish elite.[85] Even so, in the dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe which were the focus of O'Connellite activity in the 1820s, Catholic clerical participation in the political cause developed more slowly and unevenly than has been generally recognised.[86] Clearly, therefore, various approaches to the relationship between Catholicism and national identity in Ireland were still possible in the 1820s, and the various fissures and changes within the Catholic community continued to be important in determining behaviour. For example, the Liberal Catholics

---

[82] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 37-47; Fergus O'Ferrall, '"The Only lever ..?": the Catholic priest in Irish politics, 1823-29', *Studies*, 70:280 (1981), 308-24; Fergus O'Ferrall, *Catholic Emancipation* (Dublin, 1985); Donal Kerr, *Peel, Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846* (Oxford, 1982); Oliver MacDonagh, 'The politicization of Irish Catholic Bishops, 1800-1850', *HJ*, 18 (1975), 37-53; M. Murphy, 'Repeal, popular politics, and the Catholic clergy in Cork 1840-50', *JCHAS* 81 (Jan-Dec 1977), 39-48; Whyte, 'The influence of the Catholic clergy', 235-59.

[83] Murphy, *Diocese of Killaloe*, 101. Father Michael Crotty (snr) was parish priest of Castleconnell, 1797-1831 when he retired; died in 1838. (*Ibid.*, 423.) Unfortunately this evidence is complicated by the difficult relationship Crotty had with the episcopacy, and his later attempts to develop a break-away Catholic faction. *Ibid.*, ch.4.

[84] See, for example, Murphy, 'Repeal, popular politics, and the Catholic clergy'; O'Shea, *Priests, politics and society*; Whyte, 'Influence of the catholic clergy'.

[85] S.J. Connolly, 'Mass politics and sectarian conflict, 1823-30' in *NHI* iv. 88.

[86] See Murphy, *Diocese of Killaloe*, ch.3.

Thomas Wyse and Bishop Doyle were able to combine their sense of Irish Catholic identity with a Liberal Unionist stance, while the Roche cousins' Irish Catholic identity did not prevent them from defecting from the Repeal cause in the early 1830s.[87]

II. The Nature of Irish Protestantism

Just as the relationship between institutional Catholicism and Irish national identity was not straightforward, neither was the relationship between Britishness and Protestantism in Ireland. First, Protestantism as a defining concept for the elite was changing in the period between the 1780s and the Union. Second, there was substantial variation and conflict within Protestantism in Ireland. The Protestant Crusade took these changes a step further by forcing differentiation between different Protestant theological positions even within the Church of Ireland, which acted against the cultural and political tendency toward Protestant unity that has been identified by Bowen and Spence.[88]

By the end of the eighteenth century, Protestantism was an essential criterion for membership of the elite group. Moreover, those members of the Catholic gentry who had refused to conform had been largely excluded from political and economic power. The significance of Protestantism was accentuated by the Union with Britain, whose emerging national identity was based on Protestantism, and whose Constitution was exclusively Protestant.[89] Under the Union, the Churches of England and of Ireland were joined; four seats were provided in the House of Lords for the Church of Ireland and twenty-eight for the Irish peerage. The Union also allowed Church of Ireland members of the elite to sit in the House of Commons, but continued to exclude Catholics. Dissenters were also theoretically excluded until 1827, though the practice varied according to locality.

---

[87] See [William Roche], *Ireland Vindicated; or, reflections upon the measures taken and now taking in Ireland, to prevent the general agitation of the Question of Repeal of the act uniting England with Ireland; and upon the answer returned by Spring Rice, esq, MP to the Address of the Cordwainers of Limerick, requesting him to present their petition to the House of Commons for a repeal of that act. most respectfully addressed to Earl Grey, by a True Whig* (London, 1831). See Chapter 6.

[88] Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*; Joseph Spence, 'The Philosophy of Irish Toryism, 1833-52' (PhD, London, 1991).

[89] Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992), Introduction.

However, the self-perceptions and definitions of the Protestant Ascendancy were shifting in the period between the 1780s and the 1840s. Before the Union, 'Protestant Ascendancy' referred to a political elite which was defined by its membership of the Church of Ireland, and not to the Protestant population as a whole. Thus poor members of the Church of Ireland were excluded from this notion, as were all Dissenting Protestants. According to Jacqueline Hill, Dr Richard Woodward was responsible for drawing attention to the term 'Protestant Ascendancy' in 1786-7, when he characterised the Rightboy Movement as a defence of the Established Church of Ireland against the Catholic Church. His remarks were intended to persuade the Presbyterians to defend the status quo and not to press for the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.[90] Wolfe Tone made it clear, however, that 'Protestant Ascendancy' excluded Presbyterians. He pointed out that it was the Church of Ireland elite alone that

> held almost the whole landed property of the country in their hands ... all the offices and appointments in the Church, the army, the law, and every department of state, to the utter exclusion of the other two sects i.e. the Roman Catholics and dissenters.[91]

The British government's decision to allow Catholics more civil and political rights in the 1790s was intended to prevent Catholics from joining up with the Dissenters in demands for radical constitutional reform. However, the resulting Catholic Relief Acts of 1792-3 provoked a Church of Ireland backlash, in which the Dublin Corporation and County corporations, and grand juries, used 'Protestant Ascendancy' as a rallying cry in defence of a Church of Ireland elite.[92] Local government continued to be controlled by members of the Church of Ireland, as a result of systematic religious bars on both Catholics and Dissenters.[93]

After the Union, there was a deliberate attempt to broaden the 'Protestant elite' to include Dissenters, as a way of making certain that Irish Protestants were united by a common aim of

---

[90] Jacqueline Hill, 'Popery and protestantism, civil and religious liberty: the disputed lessons of Irish History 1690-1812', *Past and Present* 118 (Feb. 1988), 123-5. See also W.J. McCormack, *The Dublin Pamphlet War of 1786-88: a biobiography and critical inquiry* (Dublin, 1993).

[91] T.W. Tone, *Life of Theobold Wolfe Tone ...* (Washington, 1826), ii. 182-3 quoted by R.F.G. Holmes, 'United Irishmen and Unionists: Irish Presbyterians, 1791 and 1886' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood, *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish: papers read at the 1987 summer meeting and the 1988 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, (Oxford, 1989), 173.

[92] Hill, 'Popery', 125 and 'The Politics of Privilege: the Dublin Corporation and the Catholic question, 1792-1823', *Maynooth Review* 7 (1982), 17-36.

[93] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*; d'Alton, *Protestant Society.* Legally, Dissenters were not barred, since the portions of the 1704 Test Act that applied to Dissenters had been repealed in 1780.

defence against Catholics. As the Church of Ireland theologian, Alexander Knox, advised Castlereagh, the British government should take advantage of the religious divisions that had emerged between the Ulster Presbyterians and the Catholics during the Rebellion. He argued that the government should make grants to individual Dissenting ministers in return for oaths of allegiance, because this would turn them into a 'subordinate ecclesiastical aristocracy' and would act as a 'sedative' on the people of Ireland.[94]

On one level, then, 'Protestant' did mean 'non-Catholic' by the 1820s, and this interpretation was quickly displacing the more narrowly Church of Ireland vision of the eighteenth century. However, even though Dissenters were disappearing as a threat to the Church of Ireland ascendancy, their relationship with the Church of Ireland in theological, social, and political terms continued to involve strain. Hempton and Hill argue that the Protestant Crusade had the effect of hardening the divisions between denominations, except at times of crisis when anti-Catholicism temporarily unified them, despite the rhetoric of Protestant unity.[95] The Crusade also masked an important divergence in the theology and religious attitudes of the different Church of Ireland groups involved. Clearly these different theological views were allied with divergent views about Catholics and about Irish society. The foregoing section on the Protestant Crusade has focused on the 'enthusiastic' Evangelical wing, because this was the most highly publicised and militant face of the movement which Catholics reacted against most strongly. However, the Crusade also involved influential High Church clergy, who shared with the Evangelicals an emphasis on the conversion of Catholics. The significance of this High Church wing is that they reached their conclusions from a different theological position, and one which had somewhat different social and political implications.

Three of the most prominent High Church bishops involved in the movement were Bishops Mant, Magee, and Woodward, who promoted mass conversion as the traditional

---

[94] Knox to Castlereagh, 15 July 1803, *Correspondence, Despatches, and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh* ed. Marquess of Londonderry (London, 1848-53), iv. 288. See also Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791-1798* (Oxford, 1994); Marianne Elliott, *Partners in Revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (New Haven, 1982).

[95] David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London and New York, 1992), 80.

mission of the Church of Ireland. They were willing to team up with evangelicals both inside and outside the Church in promoting this aim, but they all belonged to the Brodrick/Jebb circle of High Churchmen that developed in the first two decades of the century.[96] For example, Magee had been Jebb's friend and tutor at Trinity College and was regarded as a 'like-minded friend', and in 1820 Magee put Jebb's name forward for preferment.[97] Magee's 1822 *Charge* was generally identified as one of the major flash-points in the escalation of Protestant-Catholic conflict in general, and of the Tithe Wars in particular. However, he never accepted that it was a turning point in his own views.[98] Magee had always taken a rather more interventionist view on the need to combat 'in the lowest class, idleness, debauchery, violence, disregard of law, impatience of control, insurrection, massacre' than some other High Churchmen. In 1796 when he preached the sermon which identified this need, he was referring to Dissenting Presbyterians primarily.[99] Nevertheless, by 1825 his attention was focused almost wholly onto Catholicism, and he argued that Protestants had to band together because of agrarian violence and the development of Catholic nationalism. He argued that this had forced on

> the higher class of Protestants a recollection of the difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and to compel many of them, from regard to their personal safety, to make some distinction in favour of the latter, [and so] a considerable change in the feeling of the lower Protestants has been wrought; and this added to an increased activity on the part of the parochial clergy which has

---

[96] James Brodrick was Archbishop of Cashel until 1822 when Richard Laurence was appointed. He was the patron of a circle of High Church clerics in the Church of Ireland which included the lay theologian Alexander Knox, John Jebb (who was parish priest at the Abington Church that the Bourke and Barrington families attended, and then Bishop of Limerick), and also Bishops Magee, Woodward, and Mant. All of these clerics were Irish, and were part of a systematic attempt to appoint Irish-born clerics to the episcopal bench after 1815, and to oppose the appointment of English clerics. Knox and Jebb are particularly important figures in the Limerick religious scene, and are widely credited as the main precursors of the Oxford Movement in England (and were also seen that way in the 1840s). See Peter B. Nockles, 'Continuity and Change in Anglican High Churchmanship in Britain 1792-1850' (DPhil, Oxford, 1982), 363-6; see also G.T. Stokes who wrote that Jebb and Knox were 'the only begetters of the Oxford Movement' ... 'Knox begat Jebb, and Jebb begat Rose and Pusey and Newman' in 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement' *Contemporary Review* 67 (1856), 466-72. See also Jebb to Judge Richard Jebb, 10 July 1820, Jebb papers, TCD ms 6396-7/98 which details his meetings with English clerics. See also Kenneth Milne, 'Principle or pragmatism: Archbishop Brodrick and church education policy' in Alan Ford, James McGuire, and Kenneth Milne (eds), *As by Law Established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), 187-94.

[97] Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 55 and 224; Jebb to Knox, 7 April 1802, *Thirty Years Correspondence*, 44 (Magee was Bishop of Raphoe in 1820).

[98] 1825 (129) viii. *Report from the [Commons] Select Committee on the State of Ireland*, 799 (Magee's evidence, 7 June 1825).

[99] 'Sermon Preached before the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Practice of Religion and Virtue in Dublin, 5 May 1796' in Archbishop William Magee, *Works ... with a memoir by Rev. A.H. Kenny* (Dublin, 1842), ii. 330.

> more energetically applied itself, particularly to the poor of their own communion, has produced a powerful effect upon the mind of the poorer Protestants.[100]

Magee told the Select Committee on the State of Ireland that 'In truth, with respect to Ireland, the Reformation may, strictly speaking, be truly said only now to have begun.'[101] By the mid-1820s, then, his official endorsement of mass conversion, combined with attacks on the Catholic Church itself, were enough to identify him with the Protestant Crusade, and because this movement was dominated by militant Evangelicals he was deemed guilty by association. Even so, the different perspectives of the Hugh Church and Evangelical wings of the Crusade continued to be important because they led to different social and political conclusions.

III. Liberal Protestantism

Even more important than the theological disagreements between High Churchmen and Evangelicals, was the development of a small but vocal Liberal Protestant opposition to the Crusade in its entirety. Liberal Protestant opposition peaked in the early 1820s when the clash between the Second Reformation movement and Irish Catholicism was at its height. The very explosiveness of that collision, combined with its social and political implications, forced Liberal Protestants to enunciate and refine their reasons for opposing the Protestant Crusade. They argued that the Protestant Crusade did nothing to resolve the elite's difficulties, but merely accentuated social conflict within Ireland. They argued that Catholics were not heathen, but were capable of moral reform and Christian religious knowledge without conversion. In fact, popular Protestantism was not much better than popular Catholicism, because both needed to be taught rationality, institutional religious truth and religious morality.

Although there were pockets of Liberal Protestant opposition all over Ireland, there was a concentration in the West of Ireland, particularly in the dioceses of Killaloe (which covered County Clare, and part of County Limerick) and Limerick, since it was here that missionary efforts were concentrated. These elite families in Limerick were a deeply religious group which was theologically aware and motivated by ideas of moral reformation. They felt the need to

---

[100] 1825 (521) ix. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Lords Select Committee on the State of Ireland*, 348.

[101] *Ibid.*

reconcile their role in Ireland with their religious views. Moreover, the debates within the Church of Ireland had profound implications for social policy and political groupings. They opened up the possibility of new approaches to what was generally acknowledged to be a difficult, perhaps insoluble problem: how to stop Irish agrarian violence without overturning the political and social structures that enabled the Ascendancy to maintain their position. Religious debates on the issue of proselytism reflected disagreement among the elite, about how to adapt to a growing attack on the idea of Protestant Ascendancy. For this reason, identifying elite groups as Protestant does not provide a method of predicting their ideas or actions, as has been assumed by those who have promoted the 'two nation' model of Irish History. This kind of elite perspective was only possible because the relationship between religion and national identity was unstable and heavily contested in the pre-Famine period. Had the issue been a *fait accompli*, the elite would have been left with no room for manoeuvre.

The role this Liberal group played in the nineteenth century was in many ways an extension of the roles played by their eighteenth-century ancestors who had converted from Catholicism to the Church of Ireland. While all the members of this group were devout members of the Church of Ireland in the early nineteenth century, their families were unusually heterodox. This group represented a cocktail of all the groups that had formed the elite at various times, namely Old English, native Irish, and New English. Without exception, all of these families had Catholic ancestors of both 'Old English' and 'native Irish' variants. Many of these had conformed during the eighteenth century in order to retain their elite status. There is historical debate about those Catholic gentry families that converted to Protestantism in order to protect their property, political power and, ultimately, their elite status. Hitherto, historians have assumed that these families were quickly absorbed into the Protestant Ascendancy, and that they immediately changed their religious outlook and values to match.[102] In contrast, Thomas Power has argued that these families converted in name only and for pragmatic reasons, and therefore that they were not entirely absorbed into Ascendancy culture or ideology. Instead, he has argued that they were a hybrid group which performed a mediating role between elite and populace, and he cites examples from the legal profession.[103] This

---

[102] J.G. Simms, 'The establishment of Protestant ascendancy, 1691-1714' in *NHI* iv. 20.

[103] T.P. Power, 'Converts' in T.P. Power and K. Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence:*

suggests the tantalising possibility that some of these converts continued to be devout Catholics in private, and that others sought ways of reconciling their Catholic heritage with their new Protestantism. The first proposition is explored by Conor Cruise O'Brien in his study of Edmund Burke, and the second is the basis of Thomas Power's argument.[104] The problem here is that there is little evidence for the penal era that allows historians to reach firm conclusions.[105] However, this debate is pertinent to the study of Limerick Liberals, for whom there is much more evidence on religious belief. Far from underplaying religion in favour of pragmatic considerations, they felt so strongly about religion that they used it as the basis of their political ideology. Nevertheless, they did not easily accept the close link between religion and ethnicity that some contemporaries presented, since this link made their heritage and claims to elite status indefensible in their own eyes. Instead, they saw themselves as both Irish and Protestant and, like their eighteenth-century forebears, sought to mediate between the increasingly polarised Protestant and Catholic groups.

The eighteenth-century tradition of variation in religious belief was continued in the nineteenth century by the descendants of these Limerick families. Even their recent religious background was not uniform. Richard Bourke's immediate family represented nearly all the possible variants of Anglicanism. No information is available regarding the religious views of Richard's parents, but his sister married the son of the High Church Bishop Samuel Horsley (the Reverend Heneage Horsley was himself High Church).[106] Elizabeth Bourke had an English Evangelical upbringing of the Clapham Sect variety and maintained contact with Evangelicals in Ireland and England through her poor relief work.[107] Of Bourke's daughters, Fanny married

---

Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century (Dublin, 1990), 101-27.

[104] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Great Melody: a thematic biography of Edmund Burke* (London, 1992); Power, 'Converts'.

[105] Although, the evidence that does exist and the associated historical debate, is reviewed by S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), 294-313.

[106] Heneage Horsley was a friend of Bourke's from Westminster School, and met his sister while visiting Richard at Beaconsfield; Horsley papers, Lambeth Palace Library mss 1767 and 2809; Marriage Contract, Bourke papers, MWRAL. See also F.C. Mather, *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733-1806) and the Caroline tradition in the later Georgian Church* (Oxford, 1992).

[107] Elizabeth Bourke to Miss Holmes, 15 Feb. 1823 (draft), Bourke papers, NLI ms 21768; Elizabeth Bourke to Capt. Duckworth, 9 July 1823, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(7); see also Bourke papers, NLI ms 8474(1&3).

Dudley Montague Perceval (son of the Evangelical Prime Minister Spencer Perceval), and Mary Jane married the Rev. John Jebb (Bishop Jebb's nephew), who was closely associated with the Tractarians Keble and Pusey and was the author of a number of Tractarian pamphlets and sermons.[108] The de Veres, Wyndham-Quins and Monsells of Tervoe were all High Churchmen in the early nineteenth century, but two of Aubrey de Vere's sons converted to Catholicism. William Smith O'Brien was Church of Ireland as well, but his daughter converted to Catholicism. Thomas Spring Rice's son Stephen was firmly Anglo-Catholic (though he rejected the 'formality' of the Newmanites and resisted conversion).[109] Matthew and Daniel Barrington attended the same church as the Bourkes at Abington (now Murroe) until 1820, where the High Churchmen John Jebb and John Forster preached.[110] However, the Barringtons had a Catholic mother, and on their father's side the family was partly Anglican, partly Quaker. Matthew's daughter later married Walter le Fanu, descendant of a Huguenot family.[111]

Despite this continuing religious variation, none of this group seems to have taken the path of religious indifference or secular political philosophy (as did many European Liberals of the period). Quite the reverse. They maintained an ongoing concern with, and knowledge of, theological debate, and they valued piety. Their response to the religious upheavals during the first half of the nineteenth century was 'earnest but friendly disputation' within their group, based on theology.[112] This high level of theological awareness was reflected by their libraries and their family links with theologians in both Ireland and England. For example, Bourke's library contained a great deal of religious and theological material, some of which was

---

[108] Jebb jnr papers, Trinity College Dublin ms 6398; Jebb jnr papers, Lambeth Palace Library ms 1680; The pamphlets include *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* (London, 1843) and *The Divine Economy of the Church* (London, 1840).

[109] David Fitzpatrick, 'Thomas Spring Rice and the Peopling of Australia', *OLJ* 'Australian Edition', 1988, 39-49.

[110] Rev. Charles Forster to Bishop Jebb 9 July 1820, Jebb papers, TCD mss 6396-7/97; Stradbally parish (Killaloe) preacher books, Church Representative Body (Castleconnell was in the Church of Ireland parish, Stradbally); Abington Vestry Book, Church Representative Body (Abington was the Church of Ireland parish name for the village of Murroe).

[111] Lord Stanley to Matthew Barrington, 8 Sept. 1831, Barrington papers, Glenstal Abbey, County Limerick; Abington Vestry Book, P6, Church [of Ireland] Representative Body, Dublin; Genealogical Files, Friends' Library Dublin; 'The Barringtons of Limerick', *OLJ* 24 (Winter 1988), 7.

[112] This apt phrase is David Fitzpatrick's. See 'Spring Rice', 42.

autographed as gifts from John Jebb, Thomas Spring Rice, and Aubrey de Vere.[113] Richard Bourke had connections with theological writers like Bishop Samuel Horsley, Bishop John Jebb and his nephew the Reverend John Jebb (who married Bourke's daughter), Alexander Knox, Thomas Spring Rice (who was closely connected with Liberal Anglican theologians such as Whately, Hampden, and Baden Powell), and the Clapham Sect (through Jebb and Knox).[114] These links gave him access to almost the full range of theological debate in England and Ireland. Both Jebb and Spring Rice entertained Irish and English theologians in Limerick: on one documented occasion in 1828, for example, Spring Rice invited the English Liberal Anglican theologians Baden Powell, Arnold, Whately, and Hampden to his Mount Trenchard estate in County Limerick.[115]

These families also shared a concern with 'humanitarian' reform, were 'morally serious', and emphasised piety. For example, Spring Rice was a founder member of the Abolition of Foreign Slavery Society and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), and both Bourke and Spring Rice were involved in penal reform societies and a number of Irish 'improvement' societies. Through these interdenominational philanthropic societies, and through personal friendships, the group maintained contact with other 'morally serious' reformers such as Thomas Buxton, Elizabeth Fry, the Gurneys, Florence Nightingale, and many others.[116] Hazel King has commented that the Clapham Sect saw Bourke as a 'fellow traveller', and certainly he had much in common with the 'Saints' or Evangelicals of the William Wilberforce variety.[117] Richard Bourke's piety may also have been inspired by his wife

---

[113] Sotheby's *Catalogues*. There was a particular preponderance of English Liberal Anglican theologians including Thomas Arnold, Richard Whately, Hampden's *An Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity*, and also the natural theologian William Paley, *A View of the Evidences of Christianity*.

[114] see Appendix for family connections through marriage.

[115] Spring Rice to Thomas Arnold, 5 Nov. 1828, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 534. The views of these theologians will be discussed below. See also Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion, and Reform 1830-1841* (Cambridge, 1987), ch.5.

[116] Monthly Meeting Book, 19 Apri. 1827 entry, Limerick Society of Friends papers, private possession, John Grubb; Elizabeth Fry and Joseph Gurney, *Report addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Respecting their Late Visit to that Country* (London, 1827). Elizabeth Fry to Samuel Marsden, 23 Mar. 1832, Marsden papers, ML ms A1992 (expressing approval about Bourke's appointment as Governor of New South Wales and concern about Elizabeth Bourke's health).

[117] Hazel King, *Richard Bourke* (Oxford, 1971), 56.

Elizabeth, whose English Evangelical upbringing in Surrey provided a further link to the 'Saints'. A fragment of her religious diary, begun in the New Year of 1819, shows that her religious attitudes remained very much in the 'Saints' tradition:

> I am not willing to look back on the year that is just ended, for alas it has passed as all the rest of my life have in waste and uselessness. God forgive me I have no hope but in thy great mercy and the mediation of my Lord and Saviour for which I sincerely pray - and that thou will not only forgive me but grant that my sorrow for the errors of my past life may be sincere, and lasting, and give me thy help to spend the time which thou mayest think fit to allow me better than I have done in the past. ... I fear to make resolutions. I have so often made and broke them that I dare not again ever allow myself to think I shall do any good. But I cannot refrain from praying to the almighty that I may.[118]

During the 1820s and 30s the de Veres, Spring Rices, Bourkes, Barringtons, and O'Briens had daily prayer meetings, and their shared Sunday prayer meetings (which seem to have been organised by the women) were one of the focal points in their family lives.[119]

This combination of piety, theological awareness and heterodoxy is of crucial importance in understanding the approach of this group to religious, social, and political issues. Their heterodoxy was probably the reason that they clung to a notion of elite status that was not dependent on the fluctuations of their religious affiliations. It was certainly the reason that religious Liberal ideas were particularly congenial to this group. This contrasted with those members of the Ascendancy that had much more exclusively Protestant backgrounds, or that chose to disregard Catholic ancestors. This commitment to religious toleration contrasted with the widely accepted view of uniformity within nineteenth-century Protestantism in Ireland; in Limerick it was the basis of a range of relatively fluid religious alliances around this core group.

Clearly, then, this concern with theology and ecclesiastical affairs was not the sole preserve of the Church of Ireland clergy. Among the elite, much more than among the general populace, laymen frequently participated in theological and religious debates in very

---

[118] Diary fragment of Elizabeth Bourke, 23 Jan. 1819 - 2 Jan. 1820, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke.

[119] Aubrey de Vere, *Recollections of Aubrey de Vere* (London, 1897), 22; Aubrey de Vere to Bourke, 19 Jan. 1830, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/7; see also Fitzpatrick, 'Spring Rice'; Richard and Elizabeth Bourke were also teetotal, between 1810 and the late-1820s at least. By 1829 Richard Bourke was keeping a wine cellar, though it is unclear whether or not this was for the use of his guests alone. Bourke to Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant, 1 Aug. 1810, Le Marchant papers, Royal Military College at Sandhurst; 'Memoranda from M.Genl Bourke', May 1831, part 2, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke; Thomas Spring Rice to Bourke, 1829, Bourke papers, Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford, ms Afr.t.7.

sophisticated terms. This can be demonstrated by the important lay pamphlet response to Bishop Mant's 1820 *Visitation Sermon*, by a gentleman from the Killaloe diocese using the pseudonym 'Athamik'. This pamphlet articulated many of the religious ideas being publicly aired in other contexts by Bourke, Spring Rice and others. Though the evidence for Bourke's authorship remains circumstantial, it is nevertheless substantial. Certainly Bourke was the only one of the Limerick pious group whose estates were in the diocese of Killaloe.[120] Little research has been done on the other Killaloe gentlemen that Bourke and Barrington associated with, but according to Bourke some were as furious as he was about the publication of Mant's Sermon. After Forster's and Jebb's disapproval of Mant's *Sermon* and attitude toward proselytism, Forster relates that Mant and Bourke had also met, and that Bourke had been 'open-mouthed' to Forster

> about His Lordship's impolitic headforemost assault on popery in the charge fore mentioned; and all out scandalized to find that it is actually *in print*. Several of the most respectable gentlemen of the diocese of K[illaloe], Col. B[ourke] tells me, remonstrated against the publication, which he hoped, therefore, had been given up.[121]

Jebb, too, was incensed at the sermon, but could not risk a public reply. He was then a junior cleric (rector of Abington Church), but more importantly, his mentor Bishop Brodrick had been partly responsible for Mant's appointment. These political constraints did not prevent him from supporting and even sharing the costs of producing a lay response, written by one of his friends. Bourke was a good candidate for such a project because of his known opposition to the *Sermon* and his relationship with Forster and Jebb, and the financial difficulties he was experiencing at the time would have made it difficult to finance such a pamphlet. However, once the writing began, it must have become clear to Jebb that the views being expressed were diverging from his own views on toleration. Thus it was with a degree of relief that he was

---

[120] Both the Bourkes and the Barringtons socialised with gentry from both Killaloe and Limerick dioceses, but the Barringtons attended Jebb's Church in Abington Parish, diocese of Limerick from 1818 when the family moved to Glenstal from Limerick City. Barrington papers, Glenstal Abbey, County Limerick; Mark Tierney, *Glenstal Abbey: a historical guide* 2nd ed. (Limerick, 1990), 31-34. Abington Vestry Book, P6, Church [of Ireland] Representative Body Library, Dublin; Jebb papers, TCD ms 6396-7.

[121] Forster to Bishop Jebb, 7 Sept. 1820, Jebb papers, Trinity College Dublin ms 6396-7/103. The Charge referred to is: Richard Mant, *A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Killaloe, at the Primary Visitation, Thursday August the third, 1820* (Dublin, 1820). 'Neighbour and no-neighbour' is a reference to Bishop Thomas Elrington's absenteeism, which was for Jebb and Forster an implicit criticism.

able to report to Brodrick the following year that 'a certain pamphlet' had sold only about a hundred copies.[122] As far as we know there was no other pamphlet published at this time that fits all these circumstances. Finally, in Spring Rice's 1825 *Edinburgh Review* article he warmly approved of the 'Athamik' pamphlet, whose author was well known to him as 'a friend and correspondent of [Edmund] Burke'.[123] Even if Bourke was not the author, this pamphlet remains a local expression of the particular version of religious toleration that he and his group espoused. At a minimum, then, Bourke knew the author and endorsed his views and this conclusion is corroborated by the pamphlet's plan for a school, which reflects in almost every detail the school he established the following year. On the other hand, it is reasonable to conclude that this expression of a pan-Christian vision of citizenship, which was written well before any clerical representative of Liberal Protestantism arrived in Ireland, was Richard Bourke's own contribution to the religious debate. Though it had a small circulation, this pamphlet was a particularly important contribution to the religious debates in the West, primarily because it shows the tension that existed at the beginning of the decade between Irish High Church ideas on the one hand, and the Liberal Protestant view of citizenship and toleration which was beginning to develop on the other. Thus this particular pamphlet provides insight into the development of a distinctive Irish Liberal Protestant stance as early as 1820, one which vehemently opposed the Evangelical version of the Second Reformation movement, but which also began to diverge from the ideas of Irish High Churchmen. The pamphlet further demonstrates the issues and the process by which Protestant theological debate came to influence the development of social and political ideology.

Bourke's most fundamental criticism of Bishop Mant's sermon centred on Mant's belief in the urgent need to convert Catholics. Richard Bourke argued that Catholics were not fit targets for missionary zeal because they were already Christian. As he commented,

> If the Roman Catholick were an infidel, we ought to strain many a point, for his conversion. But will it be denied that the Roman Catholick is a Christian? He repeats our creed: when he prays, he addresses God, in the words which the Son

---

[122] Brodrick papers, NLI ms 8866(8): Jebb to Brodrick, 28 Sept. 1821.

[123] [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Education of the Irish Poor', *Edinburgh Review* 4 (Nov. 1825), 224. to go so far as to reveal that he was related would have destroyed any attempt at anonymity. Another candidate for authorship was Richard Laurence (brother of French Laurence). However, he did not come to Ireland until 1822 (as Archbishop Brodrick's replacement), he was a cleric not a 'lay member', and was not in the diocese of Killaloe specifically.

> of God has taught us: to the merits of that Son he looks, through faith, for his salvation. If one of his clergy became a Protestant, he was, without further ordination, admitted to the order of our priesthood. The Roman Catholick *is* a Christian.[124]

This meant that Ireland was on the different footing from the colonies, which were virgin territory for the spread of Christianity and civilisation.[125] He asserted that British civilisation was based on Christianity, rather than on Protestantism specifically, and identified misdirected proselytism as a danger to this Christianity: '...the fervour which began by propagating dogmas, might end by piling faggots', because it had no natural limits. He condemned this 'spirit ... for ever meddling, to correct what it conceives to be the errors of its Christian brethren'. He contrasted this with the legitimate 'zeal for converting *unbelievers* to the Christian faith', which was limited by its spirit of benevolence which 'insures the prudence, the mildness, and moderation of its course'.[126]

Moreover, he commented that some limits must be set even for the operations of 'sacred zeal'.[127] Richard Bourke believed that proselytism was sowing 'the seeds of lasting animosity between Protestants and Roman Catholicks of the rising generation'.[128] He thought it impossible that proselytisers could guarantee that forcing Catholics to confront their errors would necessarily ensure their conversion to Protestantism, and not encourage them to turn to infidelity instead.[129] He asked, was

> there no Anti-Christian doctrine abroad now, against which the stability of the Romish faith might contribute its assistance? Are there none, who "calling themselves Christians, yet deny the very essence of the Christian faith? and are "persuaded that Christ was never offered, as an atonement, propitiation, and satisfaction for the sins of the world?"[130]

Spring Rice, too, opposed proselytism vehemently, and argued that the Protestant Crusade produced an escalation in religious conflict instead of diminishing it. He took the opportunity in the preface of his 1827 *Catholic Emancipation* pamphlet, to disclaim

---

[124] 'Athamik', 36.

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] *Ibid.*, 11-16.

[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *Ibid.*, 38.

[129] *Ibid.*, 38-9.

[130] *Ibid.*, 40.

> any approbation of the unjust and impolitic system of Proselytism, which, originating with enthusiasts in both parts of the empire, has contributed to embitter the religious animosities and internal discord of Ireland.[131]

This opposition to proselytism was linked to a rejection of Protestant attempts to paint Catholics as heretics worthy of divine punishment. For example, in 1822 Richard Whately (the English Liberal Anglican later appointed Bishop of Dublin) clearly rejected the idea that famine signified the 'special interposition of Providence to punish the sins of the people or of their governors'.[132] It was the clergy's duty to preach the truth as they saw it:

> It is our duty to take every suitable occasion of promulgating and advocating - mildly indeed, but boldly and firmly - what we deliberately believe to be revealed truth, and refuting error.[133]

However, this did not mean that Catholics should be cast as heathens. In fact, Whately waged an ongoing battle against militant Evangelicals in his diocese from 1831 onward, especially those like the Reverend Tresham Gregg who emphasised eschatology and proselytism. In 1842 Whately went so far as to prohibit Gregg from preaching in Dublin, after he was jailed for disturbing the peace in a struggle with a Catholic convert. This was one of many episodes when he tried to persuade Catholics to leave the Popish 'church of the devil'. Gregg's fervour continued unabated, and in the 1870s he published a letter to Pope Pius IX which pointed out that, according to the 'numbers of his name' and the mystical rendering of scriptural prophecy, he was the last pope of the age who would serve Antichrist.[134]

> Richard Bourke's attitude diverged sharply from Gregg's. He concluded that
>
> while our views have led us to a different road from [the Catholic's], we ought not to speak or think irreverently of that, which our fellow-Christian may as piously have preferred. It, on the contrary, becomes us to rejoice humbly and sincerely, that both roads may lead the faithful to salvation.[135]

---

[131] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation,* 3. See also High Church clerical opposition to Bible societies on the grounds of their evangelical enthusiasm and tendency to encourage religious dissent: Forster to Bishop Jebb, 9 Oct. 1818, Jebb papers, TCD ms 6396-7/70; and William Phelan, *The Bible, not the Bible Society, being an attempt to point out that mode of disseminating the scriptures, which would most effectually conduce to the security of the established Church and the peace of the United Kingdom* (Dublin, 1817).

[132] Richard Whately, *National Blessings and Judgments Considered in a discourse delivered before the University of Oxford, 29 May 1822, with an appendix containing remarks on the present crisis* (London, 1831), 35.

[133] Richard Whately, *On the Right Use of National Afflictions* (Dublin, 1848), 4, 14.

[134] Bowen, *Protestant Crusade,* 112-13.

[135] 'Athamik', 14.

His vehement opposition to proselytism was also demonstrated in other ways, for example by his private comments to Forster about Bishop Mant's 1820 *Charge*. He and his wife also refused to use the scriptures for proselytising purposes in their schools, and were therefore unable to obtain Royal Hibernian Society funding.[136] Instead, he had Matthew Barrington purchase copies of the Douay version of the Bible, for use in his schools.[137] This Bible had been produced in Ireland in 1824 by Bishop Doyle, and was recommended for use by the Catholic population. The assertion that Catholics were Christian, drew on the Branch theory of the Church (as used by Irish High Churchmen), but the theory was put to a different purpose - under the Union, the Church of Ireland was 'exclusively our Established Church', but the Catholic Church in Ireland was also to be considered '*an Established Church*'. The Catholic Church was established in the sense that it was protected by law, its clergy were supported by the State (through state funding of seminary at Maynooth), and it was the Church of the majority of the population in Ireland. Furthermore, the pamphlet argued that without the Union, the Catholic Church would have had an unrivalled claim to Establishment in Ireland.[138] Bourke's purpose here was to highlight the 'lawfulness, the respectability, the sacredness of both [Churches]', without going so far as to assert any Catholic dominance.[139] This support of Catholicism as a legitimate Christian religion was shared by Matthew Barrington, to the extent that he helped fund the necessary repairs to a local Catholic church.[140] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this willingness to give such status to Catholicism was related to the heterodoxy of their forbears and of their contemporary kin.

---

[136] Elizabeth Bourke to Miss Rolleston (Hibernian School Society), 19 Oct. 1823, and Elizabeth Bourke to Mr Logan (Secretary, Cork Hibernian School Society), 11 Aug. 1824, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21768.

[137] Matthew Barrington to Bourke, 6 Jan. 1824, ML ms 403/7.

[138] 'Athamik', 6-7.

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] Matthew Barrington to Dean Hanrahan, 15 May 1839, Barrington papers, Glenstal Abbey, County Limerick.

IV. The Language of Christian Citizenship

Spring Rice and Bourke shared a pan-Christian vision of citizenship that was to be the most consistent theme throughout their joint and separate schemes for reform in Ireland, England and New South Wales. The test of both an individual and a nation was its capacity for morality, which was in turn linked up with its spiritual quality or capacity for salvation. Christian morality was thus a fundamental requirement for citizenship, and the issue of whether or not Catholics were Christian, and therefore capable of both salvation and morality, was fundamental to their capacity for citizenship. Bourke concluded,

> That there may be piety, without Christianity, is a distressing truth. But we have already discussed the Roman Catholick's claim to be held a *Christian.* Indeed that he is one, none will venture to deny; whatever may be the secret and bigoted opinion of some few, upon this subject. We have now shown that he may be a *pious Christian.* And this is what we would pull asunder, on the chance of manufacturing something better in its place![141]

Many supporters of the Second Reformation movement, both High Churchmen and Evangelicals, were vehement in their denial that Catholics were Christian in any fundamental sense, and they equated Catholicism with immorality and damnation. However, for Liberal Protestants, the premise that Catholics were Christian was a fundamental basis for their argument that Catholics were capable of both morality and citizenship. Though Bourke and Spring Rice both assumed that there should be a division between civil and political roles (for example, neither supported manhood suffrage), they agreed that the criteria for each category should be independent of any conversion to Anglicanism (whether in the short- or long-term). Instead, religious and moral improvement was emphasised, making it possible for individuals to aspire to citizenship as well as to achieve improvement in society as a whole. This version of toleration formed the basis of the Liberal Protestant capacity to form alliances, mainly because it provided a theological and moral argument for the necessity of Catholic citizenship. As Aubrey de Vere later concluded, 'the "original sin" of Irish Society [was that,] treated kindly, or treated harshly, [Catholics] have but seldom been treated as fellow citizens.' He argued that Catholic access to Church revenues was a fundamental acknowledgement of their citizenship, because these moneys formed the 'provision made for religious and moral culture'. As he put it,

> What is it that Ireland has lost by the alienation of the National Reserve?

---

[141] 'Athamik', 39-40.

> Citizenship, and the sense of citizenship. That reserve, by some called "the nationality," becomes the primary test of what is, or is not included in the nation. ... The community thus amerced is rejected from the nation.[142]

In the early 1820s Spring Rice was less whole-hearted than Bourke in his support for Catholic Emancipation. He was particularly concerned that Catholic Emancipation should be accompanied by such systematic reform as would outflank demands for the Repeal of the Union.[143] It was to his advantage to support Catholic Emancipation, since he had won the 1820 election because of the support of the Catholic merchants and tradesmen of Limerick City. Still, his support was not wholly pragmatic, and his Catholic Emancipation pamphlet (published in 1827) denied that Constitutionalism necessarily entailed the exclusion of Catholics.[144] In 1828 he also told Dr Murray (Catholic Archbishop of Dublin) that

> I can only add that whether in or out of office with reference to the Catholic question, and all that bears upon it my conduct shall be uniform and consistent, conscious that the interests of my country and my countrymen both Catholic and Protestant and the character of the church to which I belong as a Christian congregation and as an intellectual community are involved in the great duty of accomplishing the work of emancipation.[145]

Richard Bourke had supported Catholic Emancipation at least as early as 1808 on the grounds that it deprived the Empire 'of that great accession of vital strength which might be derived from the attachment and affections of the Population of this Kingdom', and he complained that this was a heavy price to pay for the illegitimate maintenance of a corrupt aristocracy which relied on 'jobbery'.[146] In a sense, Bourke's son-in-law Dudley Montague Perceval's proposals for Catholic Securities occupied a middle ground between the Jebb and Bourke approaches to the political role of Catholics, but were rejected for different reasons. Perceval received warm support from Knox and Jebb in his belief that the Test Act's declaration against transubstantiation was 'a public gage [sic] of fidelity to the truth,'[147] but

---

[142] Aubrey de Vere, *The Church Settlement of Ireland, or, Hibernia Pacanda* (London, 1866), 39-41.

[143] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

[144] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation.*

[145] Spring Rice to Reverend Dr. Murray, 6 Feb. 1828, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 552.

[146] Bourke to Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant, 30 Mar. 1808, Le Marchant papers, Royal Military College at Sandhurst.

[147] D.M. Perceval to Peel,16 Mar. 1829, BL add. mss 40399, f.56. He was not Irish, despite the fact that Geoffrey Best called him 'a leading Irish Evangelical and Protestant Coryphaeus'. Geoffrey Best, 'The Protestant Constitution and its Supporters, 1800-1829', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 8 (1958), 111. Dudley Montague Perceval was Spencer

Jebb did not agree with Perceval that Catholic securities

> which the friends of the Union, in Church and State, have an indisputable right to demand upon the concession of the Roman Catholic claims, *must be found in some institution apart from the Roman Catholic, and not affecting him, as such:* and *not* in any proviso fettering the powers and immunities which the bounty or wisdom of the Legislature would restore to him.[148]

To this end, Perceval recommended an adaptation of Wilmot Horton's scheme to create a standing Committee of Religion (to be composed entirely of Church of Ireland members) that would decide which issues too closely affected the basis of the Protestant Constitution to be debated in Parliament. This would protect the Constitution from all its opposers without politically defining Catholics as different from Protestants, since allowing Catholics to sit in the House of Commons without allowing them equality with Protestants would merely perpetuate their grievance.[149] Bourke also welcomed this pamphlet as an honest and interesting attempt to solve a difficult issue; and expressed his support of the view that, 'if it be the purpose of the Legislature to heal this schism effectually, it is clear that one of the principal objects of any remedial measure, should be to annihilate the distinction between Catholic and Protestant, considered as to their civil state'.[150] However, he did not agree that securities were necessary. Nor did he agree that Catholics posed a threat to either the Constitution or the Established Church, because they were Christian and therefore capable of developing Christian morality and independence: while Bourke admired Perceval's 'disinterested' concern, he could not support the Tory principles of either Dudley or his father Spencer Perceval.[151] In the end, Bourke wanted to disarm the power of religious affiliation in all spheres - civil, political, social, and economic.

Perceval's son. Although he purchased the borough seat of Ennis (County Clare) from William Vesey Fitzgerald in July 1818, and retained it until Feb. 1820, he never lived in Ireland and seems to have had very little contact with Clare. Whatever knowledge of Irish affairs Perceval possessed seems to have been obtained through his father-in-law, Richard Bourke (despite their opposed views on Catholic Emancipation). Vesey Fitzgerald to Specer Perceval n.d. [July 1818], Fitzgerald papers, NLI ms 7854; Kieran Sheedy, *The Clare Elections* (Dublin, 1993), 60.

[148] Dudley Montague Perceval, *Quietus Optabilissimus: or, the nature and necessity of real securities for the United Church, with a liberal and lasting settlement of the Catholic Question* (London, 1829), 8. (Perceval's italics)

[149] *Ibid.*, 5.

[150] Bourke to Spring Rice, 29 April 1828, Bourke papers, Rhodes House ms afr.t.7(3).

[151] *Ibid.*; Bourke to Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant, 30 Mar. 1808, Le Marchant papers, Royal Military College at Sandhurst.

This belief in the existence and validity of a common Christianity had clear implications for education, especially when combined with the Liberal Protestant dedication to moral and intellectual improvement as fundamental to a wider spread of citizenship. The notion that it was both possible and desirable to disseminate a core body of undisputed Christian truth was the basis of the National Schools approach which was promoted so strenuously by Bourke, Spring Rice, and Whately. The Liberal Protestant assumption that the introduction of rationality, combined with basic Christian teachings and the Bible, would ultimately produce Protestantism, was tied to an emphasis on non-denominational, non-proselytising education.[152] As Bourke insisted,

> ... 'Away then, - not with education, but with proselytizing education! whether conducted upon a public, or upon a private plan!'... If Protestantism be the religion of cultivated and enlightened reason, mere education, without any special efforts upon our part, may of itself conduct our scholars to our faith. In the mean time, and at all events, it will encourage regular and moral conduct; it will introduces habits of industry, discipline, order, and decorum; it will impart useful, and, - what is incomparably more important, - it will disseminate Christian knowledge.[153]

Common Christianity, morality, and rational capacity were Liberal Protestant educational aims, and social means of achieving this aim were just as important as religious. The relationship between spiritual and secular knowledge involved a shift in emphasis toward the individual, without a complete abandonment of authority. The general view that the State should be pan-Christian involved the rejection of atheism and increasing reliance on rationality in both religious and socio-political arenas, which had particular relevance to education and citizenship.

Particularly important in this process was the awareness of human fallibility, both within and without the Church of Ireland. This meant that Liberal Protestants could be as critical of the Church of Ireland as of the Catholic or the Dissenting Churches. They endorsed the need to consider different interpretations of the Bible. For Spring Rice, the Reformation had 'freed men from the yoke of ecclesiastical superiority; and [had] given an impulse to the human mind, by acknowledging the right of private judgement.'[154] Although Richard Bourke and Bishop Mant

---

[152] Saleem Rashid, 'Richard Whately and the struggle for rational christianity in the mid-Nineteenth Century', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47 (1978), 293-331.

[153] 'Athamik', 54.

[154] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation*, 27-8.

interpreted St Paul differently, Bourke concluded that 'it would be wrong to forget that we, like our differing brethren, are guided by no more than uninspired interpretation.'[155] While he did not defend Catholic tenets (since he believed that the Church of Ireland was closer to the truth), he concluded that

> those doctrines which they cannot prevail on us to embrace, they yet may be allowed to rescue from abhorrence and contempt; and to vindicate them, as opinions which may be entertained; by a pious man, without danger; and by a rational man, without disgrace.[156]

The 'Athamik' pamphlet demonstrated the tension in the very early 1820s between High Churchmen who emphasised mystery and the branch theory of the church, and who opposed Dissent, and those Liberal Protestants that emphasised reason, shared Christianity, and toleration. Neither Bourke nor Spring Rice were High Churchmen in the style of Jebb and other members of the Brodrick group, even though they shared some of the same theological roots. Before the 1820s, Liberal Protestant toleration of Catholicism was seen as compatible with Irish High Church theology, but the Protestant Crusade forced Liberal Protestants to recognise that their position differed from that of High Churchmen like Jebb and Knox. This tension was re-iterated by Archbishop Laurence, who was appointed to Cashel in 1822. In that year's *Charge*, Laurence told the clergy,

> Instead of reasoning upon temperance, righteousness, and a judgment to come, [Evangelicals of the Second Reformation movement] exhort their hearers to confide in certain internal evidences of conversion, in signs of regeneration, in the assurance of, what has been called, a total and radical change of the inner man, and in other emotions of the mind, which an overheated fancy can readily make its own, and as readily believe to be the true criteria of our peace with heaven.[157]

At the same time though, he criticised Jebb and his friends for elevating the Liturgy above religion:

> Estimable, however, as [the component parts of the Liturgy] doubtless are, and highly as we venerate them, still it should not be forgotten, that they are but forms, and that, as forms, they cannot constitute the substance of religion, and should not therefore be elevated into the rank of essentials of salvation.... Divines of talent and reputation have unreservedly maintained, that the state of a *Heathen* is preferable to that of a *Dissenter.*[158]

---

[155] 'Athamik', 22.

[156] *Ibid.*, 11.

[157] Laurence, *1822 Charge*, 20-1.

[158] *Ibid.*, 18-19.

It is significant that Spring Rice thought Laurence's *Charge*, together with Doyle's reply to Magee, were the two most important publications of 1822.

In contrast with Bourke, Spring Rice, and Laurence, the High Church group including Jebb, Knox, and Charles Forster, were not disposed to accept the validity of various other brands of Christian truth.[159] Despite a general view that the branch theory of the Church made the Catholic Church more acceptable than Dissent; Jebb's emphasis was on drawing both Catholics and Dissenters into the Church of Ireland. Jebb's objection to the Protestant Crusade was about methods and the permanence of conversion, but it did not represent disagreement with their ultimate goal. As he told Archbishop Brodrick in 1821,

> ... at the outset they [the Evangelicals] may, and probably will, for a time, fill their Churches, and produce, what has been called "*a revival*" - but experience proves, that such revivals are followed almost invariably by deadly collapses; and for this plain reason that in the exciting way, the understanding is not enlightened, and the affections are not engaged. The animal spirits and the passions exclusively, are brought into play; and we know that passion is but temporary, and that the animal spirits wear and waste themselves out by exercise.[160]

Even though Liberal Protestants tended to see the Church of Ireland version of truth as more valid (especially in the 1820s), their awareness of human fallibility allowed them to take a co-operative attitude to other versions of Christian belief, while refraining from wholly endorsing them. Bourke and his friends clearly felt much more strongly than Jebb about the need to establish a shared core of Christian truth as the basis for religious and also for social and political life. Among Liberal Protestants in the 1820s, this led to greater toleration of Dissent as well as Catholicism, a greater reliance on rationality, and a stronger emphasis on the development of Christian morality through social and political reform. Like Jebb, Bourke wanted to draw everyone into the Church eventually, but was much more willing to acknowledge Christian piety and morality in non-Anglicans in the meantime. Thus he was willing to recognise their capacity for citizenship. However, Bourke was never able to reconcile

---

[159] Knox to Jebb, Nov. 1806 (letter 44) on what they called 'ratiocination' in John Jebb and Alexander Knox, *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, and Alexander Knox*, ed. Charles Forster (London, 1834) I. 293-4. This was remarkably consistent with the view expressed some fifty years later by Forster in a sermon at Canterbury Cathedral, in reply to Professor Jowett's book, *The Doctrine of Atonement.* He exclaimed: 'Away, then, with all this Germanizing, and rationalizing, and humanizing of things divine!'. Charles Forster and E. Penny, *'Perilous Times'; or, rationalism in the church* (London, 1857), 17.

[160] Jebb to Brodrick, 15 May 1821, Brodrick papers, NLI ms 8866(8) re: Henry Woodward's alleged plan to usurp the Association for Discountenancing Vice.

himself to 'enthusiastic' evangelicalism. He expressed horror at the 'contagious phrensy' of Joanna Southcote and the 'religious feats' of the 'jumper [who] trusts to bodily activity, to help him up to heaven'. In comparison, he found Catholicism far more pious and rational.[161]

While Catholicism was the primary focus of Liberal Protestant toleration because of the nature of the 1820s religious conflict, Bourke and Spring Rice also extended this toleration to other forms of Dissent. Both Bourke and Spring Rice were notable for their toleration of some Rational Dissent, especially Quakerism, and they both maintained long-standing friendships with several Quaker families in Limerick. The Society of Friends was significant in Limerick, and had about two thousand members in this period. Both the Bourke and the Spring Rice were close friends of the Fisher and Harvey families, two of the most successful and influential Friends' families in Limerick.[162] William Harvey considered moving to New South Wales during 1834, because Richard Bourke was Governor there and was also a friend of the family. Eventually, Spring Rice (probably on the recommendation of Richard Bourke) was responsible for the successive appointments of both Harvey brothers to the Cape post of Colonial Treasurer in the 1830s.[163] Spring Rice also corresponded for several decades with their brother Jacob Harvey who emigrated to New York as a merchant.[164] Spring Rice also maintained a close co-operative relationship with English Quakers, including Elizabeth Fry, Joseph Gurney, and Thomas Fowell Buxton, with whom he worked on the abolition of slavery and prison reform.[165] It is likely that Spring Rice was involved in the arrangements for Elizabeth Fry's and Joseph Gurney's visit to Limerick during 1837, as part of their tour of Ireland.[166] Quakers did not fit into a binary divide between Protestants and Catholics in any sense, and this made them

---

[161] 'Athamik', 11-12.

[162] Lord Stanley to Matthew Barrington, 8 Sept. 1831, Barrington papers, Glenstal Abbey, County Limerick; Abington Vestry Book, P6, Church [of Ireland] Representative Body, Dublin; Genealogical Files, Friends' Library Dublin; 'The Barringtons of Limerick', *OLJ* 24 (Winter 1988), 7 and Fitzpatrick, 'Spring Rice', 42.

[163] W.H. Harvey, *Memoir ... with selections from his journal and correspondence* ed. Lydia Jane Fisher (London, 1869), 43-4.

[164] Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13348 (which comprises all the letters from Harvey to Spring Rice).

[165] Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13387; Buxton papers, mss Brit.Emp.s.444, Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford.

[166] Monthly Meeting Book, 19 April 1827 entry, Limerick Society of Friends papers, private possession, John Grubb; Fry and Gurney, *Report*.

important allies of Liberal Protestants on such issues as social reform. Joseph Harvey jnr and James Fisher were major office holders in all the social reform associations in which Richard Bourke was involved, and formed the administrative backbone of those organisations.

The attitude of Bourke and Spring Rice contrasted sharply with the Limerick anti-Quaker pamphlets of the Evangelical Minister John Elmes, who told his listeners that

> whatever claims to Infallibility the Church of Rome puts forward, they are of a character comparatively unpresuming, when contrasted with the reveries of Quakers ... It is not surprising that men who thus arrogantly claim for themselves the fulness [sic.] of inspiration, and the exactness of infallible judgment [sic], should entertain notions derogatory to the sacred scripture, and place it in a position subordinate to the supposed light within.[167]

On the other hand, though Jebb was not antagonistic to the Limerick Quakers, this was because he saw them as no threat to the Church of Ireland. As he told Southey,

> ... they have not sought to make proselytes; nor has the increase of their numbers been more than can be satisfactorily accounted for by the *natural* growth of a singularly *regular*, sober, moral, industrious, and wealthy people; the growth, I mean, by simple transmission from Father to Son.[168]

The Liberal Protestant focus on core Christian truth and individual capacity to acquire it led Irish Liberal Protestants to argue that State support of Christian religion and morality was essential. This did not necessarily match support for the creation of a State Church where there were no demographic or historical reasons for one. Spring Rice decried the historical imposition of an Anglican State Church on Ireland:

> For the sake of religion, - for the sake of *Protestantism*, we must now regret that neither the despotic Henry, nor the equally despotic Elizabeth, should have applied this [proportional] rule to Ireland. We must ever regret that political circumstances should have rendered it apparently inexpedient to make the Roman Catholic Church the Established Church of that kingdom.[169]

Both Knox and Spring Rice supported the notion that non-Anglican clergy should be financially supported by the State, but for very different reasons. Knox saw the support of dissenting ministers as a way of bringing them within the control of a Protestant State, while Spring Rice was much more concerned with promoting Christianity itself, regardless of

---

[167] John Elmes, *Quakerism Exposed ... sermon at St. John's Church, Limerick 20 Mar. 1842* (Limerick, 1842), 21.

[168] Jebb to Robert Southey, 26 Dec. 1817, Jebb papers, TCD ms 6396-7/59.

[169] [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Appropriation of Church Property - Irish Catholic Clergy', *Edinburgh Review* 60 (Jan. 1835), 512.

denomination. Spring Rice assumed that the most effective way to do this was to support the religion of the majority of Ireland's inhabitants through, for example, State funding of Maynooth seminary. He implied that State payment of Catholic clergy should also be considered.[170] Spring Rice also advocated State influence on the education of priests, and wrote to Bishop Doyle of his hopes that seminary education at Maynooth would involve less 'polemical controversy and subtle casuistry', and 'that science and literature may be allowed a greater share in the curriculum of the College.'[171] Richard Bourke's suggestion in his 'Athamik' pamphlet, that Ireland could have several 'established' churches, was closely related to his 1833 proposal to provide State funding in New South Wales for all the major Christian denominations (both Catholic and Dissenting) in proportion to their adherents.[172] He actively opposed the establishment of a State Church in New South Wales on the grounds that

> In a New Country, to which Persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort, it will be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed Church without much hostility and great improbability of its becoming permanent. The inclination of the Colonists, which keeps pace with the Spirit of the Age, is decidedly adverse to such an Institution; and I fear the interests of Religion would be prejudiced by its Establishment.[173]

Bourke's pragmatic argument required a conceptual separation between Christianity and Christian morality, from their denominational and institutional contexts. He concluded that while the British colonies must be Christian, this did not necessarily mean they should be Church of Ireland, especially if this did not reflect the religious adherence of the population. These were premises that neither Jebb nor William Broughton (Anglican Bishop of Australasia) were willing to concede, either on political or theological grounds. Their defence of an Anglican Constitution specifically precluded non-denominational Christian citizenship.[174] Jebb supported Church reform but was unwilling to consider any diminution of Church power, and was chastised by his Archbishop at the least sign of weakening on Church of Ireland clerical precedence.[175] For the

---

[170] Spring Rice to William IV, 13 Jan. 1837, f.13, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 545. See also Knox to Castlereagh, 15 July 1803 in *Correspondence, Despatches, and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh* ed. Marquess of Londonderry (London, 1848-53), iv. 288.

[171] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

[172] 'Athamik', 6-7; Bourke to Lord Stanley, 30 Sept. 1833, no.76 *HRA* series 1, xvii. 227.

[173] *Ibid.*

[174] Best, 'Protestant Constitution', 105-127; for Broughton's views see Chapter 7.

[175] Brodrick to Jebb, n.d., draft reply to Jebb's 18 Dec. 1821, Brodrick papers, NLI ms 8866(8).

Reverend Charles Forster, the Established Church's role in ministering to the entire population gave the Church of Ireland clergy precedence over any merely sectional clergy. So, when the local Catholic priest addressed him without his title, he felt insulted enough to write a stiff protest, concluding that

> the [Church of Ireland] clergyman ... who, in private intercourse with his parishioners, will allow himself to be treated or addressed with level familiarity, may expect soon to find his public addresses received with coldness, levity, or neglect. Against all such freedoms therefore, I must, as a clergyman, most seriously protest.[176]

The concept of toleration was at the crux of religious, cultural, and political debates, and was crucial in the debates over sectarian boundaries. The Liberal Protestant version of toleration accepted that the British State overall should remain Protestant. However, it also argued that there should be full religious freedom in Ireland, both in civil and political spheres, because Ireland had different religious demography and requirements from those of England. Clearly this had limited appeal in the long term in Ireland, because it still involved Protestant assumptions. Even though Liberal Protestants sought to shift citizenship from a denominational to a broad Christian basis, they still wanted to define moral capacity in terms that left the elite's leadership unchallenged, regardless of their Protestantism. There was an important link between the languages of Liberal Protestant toleration and of moral improvement, and thence between individual moral improvement and political responsibility. It was this link that showed the importance of Liberal Protestant concepts for a version of toleration that could be used in the Irish context.

It is often argued that Protestant inability to accept Catholic belief on its own terms led to a shared aim of de-Catholicising Ireland, regardless of whether this was to be achieved through well-meaning reform schemes that rested on basically Protestant assumptions, through aggressive proselytism, or through the systematic exclusion of Catholics from power structures. It is certainly true that even those who were least hostile to Catholicism tended to assume that the way forward was to inculcate basically Protestant assumptions in the Catholic population (though they did not always see their endeavours in these terms). For obvious reasons this was deeply insulting to Catholics, regardless of any Protestant overtures toward co-operative

---

[176] Forster to Jebb, 19 Aug. 1816, Jebb papers, TCD ms 6396-7/46.

enterprise. Still, beneath this overarching Protestant-Catholic divide there were differences in perspective and assumptions that had far-reaching effects on the concept of religious toleration and its relationship to citizenship. Understanding the varying bases of Protestant ideas is crucial to understanding the development of Irish political rhetoric.

Evangelicals saw revelation and conversion as the key to moral improvement, because of their emphasis on Divine intervention and Providence. They saw the Church's role as one of promoting that conversion, which would in turn promote God's influence in the State. Thus the progress of any particular society was to be tested by its Protestantism and national morality, which were in turn dependent on individual spirituality and morality. Protestantism was thus a key criterion for citizenship, and there was an increasing focus on individual morality as a test of political virtue. On the other hand, there was little attempt to change the way citizens were selected. Conversely, pre-Tractarians focused on social and intellectual improvement. This was to be allied with social control and cohesion, which would eventually result in a more moral State and more Protestants. There would be no need to change the basic criteria of citizenship because society as a whole, and the body politic in particular, would become more virtuous. The test of the State's moral quality was critically linked to its Anglican identity and the degree of improvement of the inhabitants, and High Churchmen gave both the gentry and the clergy a prominent role in this improvement. Liberal Protestants, on the other hand, saw individual moral improvement as the key to the moral improvement of society and the body politic, but they gave humans and the State a much greater role than divine intervention. Because individuals could affect government so much more than either Evangelicals or High Churchmen believed, the issues of how to choose good citizens, how to make those citizens more virtuous, and how to use government as a moral agent, became the focus. The specific function of moral improvement and civilisation was to promote Christian morality: improvement was not an end in itself, nor one confined to the Church of Ireland, or even to Protestantism in general.

Piety and moral reformation were important in understanding both the web of interactions between England and Ireland, and the differences in groupings between England and Ireland. Certainly there was frequent co-operative effort on social and moral reform issues because of shared concern about the relationship between piety and morality at a personal level. This can

be demonstrated by the number of co-operative relationships between people of different theological outlooks. For example, Jebb maintained links with the Clapham Sect despite his theological reservations, and Elizabeth Bourke continued to co-operate with the Evangelical ladies who ran the Society for the Improvement of the Peasantry in Ireland.[177] In practice, 'morally serious' Protestants agreed that piety and divine guidance were important in promoting morality, and that internal morality affected behaviour. Most were dissatisfied with shaping behaviour alone, but generally agreed that this was better than nothing. On the other hand, most Church of Ireland members differentiated their own piety from that of Catholics, which they equated with illegitimate control and superstition. These perceptions were at least partly related to class, since the vast majority of Catholics were also peasants and therefore lacked independence, and they also reflected the Protestant concern with the authority of the Catholic priesthood and the Pope, and with the issue of free will. However, Liberals were more willing to accept the validity of different Irish Catholic approaches and beliefs. For example, despite Bourke's family emphasis on prayer meetings and moral seriousness, he accepted that this should not necessarily be imposed on Catholics. Though he and his family did not participate in dancing Bourke was willing to tip the piper of a travelling Irish dance troupe because he thought this was the 'best way of encouraging these rural balls for which I have a strong affection.'[178] He differentiated between religious practice and popular Irish culture. This contrasted strongly with the Evangelical and High Church views, which saw religion as the basis of cultural practice, and therefore linked conversion with anglicisation. More importantly, Bourke's position contrasted with the Catholic clerical opposition to these dances.[179] Bourke's patronage of Irish cultural activities proclaimed his essential Irishness and also his elite status, in contrast with those members of the gentry that wanted to eradicate popular Irish culture. Bourke argued that

> when the Divine Service of the Roman Catholicks is at an end, I conceive that we have no right to interfere with their recreations; as long as these do not violate the law; nor involve riot or breach of the peace; or have a tendency to either; nor

---

[177] *British and Irish Ladies Society, for Improving the Condition and Promoting the Industry and Welfare of the female peasantry in Ireland, First Report* (London, 1825); Bourke Papers, NLI ms 21768.

[178] Richard Bourke to Dick Bourke (son), 12 Mar. 1844, Bourke papers, private possession, cited in Hazel King, *Bourke*, 251.

[179] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 167-8. There are strong parallels here with the Irish Free State in the 1920s and 1930s.

citizenship necessarily meant enfranchising Catholics. As it became clear that the goal of mass conversion was either misguided or doomed, it became necessary to prove either that Catholics were basically moral, or that they had the capacity for morality. During the 1820s in Ireland it also became clear that the Liberal Protestant concept of the morally responsible individual was incompatible with High Church ideas of citizenship. Evangelicals believed that Catholics could be neither good subjects or citizens. Therefore, both civil and political virtue were necessarily reliant on conversion. High Churchmen believed that Catholics could be good subjects only, and they clearly differentiated between civil and political virtue; Liberal Protestants believed that Catholics could be both good subjects and good citizens, provided their moral and intellectual capacities were developed. This resulted in a collapsing of the boundaries between public and private, or political and civil virtue. As Spring Rice told the Catholic Bishop Doyle when the Catholic Emancipation bill was passed,

> I am not sure whether I have had an opportunity of congratulating you since *our* Emancipation. If I have not already done so accept my warmest congratulations and believe me that no one rejoices more heartily that we no longer correspond as Protestant and Catholic, but as Irishmen and fellow Christians obeying laws which are common to us all and belonging to a state which now for the first time recognizes no exclusion.[184]

The achievement of a moral society was for Evangelicals dependent on divine will, but for High Churchmen it was dependent on social cohesion and the gradual progress of civilisation. Whereas Liberal Protestants sought to actively promote moral and intellectual improvement through a variety of means, Evangelicals saw the progress of civilisation as evidence of divine will. High Churchmen believed this progress would lead to the gradual absorption of the population into the Established Church, which in turn would promote moralisation. However, Liberal Protestants saw progress as both a tool for achieving morality and as evidence for that moral progress. Clearly Liberalism was possible without theology. However, the Irish context made Liberal Protestant concepts a useful way of side-stepping the language of Rights that was associated with the French Revolution, with the 1798 Rebellion and United Irishmen and, more recently, with O'Connell. As one of Spring Rice's correspondents put it, O'Connell erred in claiming Catholic Emancipation 'as a matter of Rights'. It would never be granted on this basis because such radicalism would lead to 'the

---

[184] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

interrupt our own devotions, and observance of the day.[180]

These attitudes were backed up by Whately in 1830, on the basis that the differing Church attitudes toward sabbatarianism were culturally rather than biblically determined.[181]

For Liberal Protestants, morality at both the institutional and individual levels had a dual role: on one hand it was a test of progress, on the other it was a means of achieving that progress. However, their belief in the existence of a core body of Christian truth, combined with the belief that this truth could be acquired by largely rational means, made it possible for Liberal Protestants to argue that Catholics were capable of morality and piety, at least on an individual level. Moreover, because political virtue was dependent on this individual morality and rationality, Catholics could acquire the capacity for citizenship on the same terms as Protestants. Jebb cautiously agreed with the Liberals that individual Catholics could be moral, and in fact this was a necessary element in his belief that absorption into the Anglican Church could be gradual. However, he was unwilling to extend this to the political sphere. He did not share the Liberal Protestant primary emphasis on moral criteria for citizenship in any case. Instead, he advocated a policy of political exclusion and practical kindness toward Catholics, which would put down party spirit on *both* sides, and still 'preserve the *substance* of a Protestant ascendancy in Church and State.'[182] Militant evangelicals were not prepared to accept the possibility of Catholic morality on any level. They found it incompatible with their belief that morality was the result of divine revelation, to which a Church led by the Anti-Christ could never gain access. Although they shared the Liberal Protestant concern for political virtue and agreed that it was based on individual morality, they fundamentally opposed the idea that Catholics could acquire the capacity for citizenship, without first converting.

In order to understand the relationship between spiritual, moral and scientific knowledge, the discussion of Church-State relationships (that has been such a strong focus of work on the relationship between religion and politics) needs to be supplemented with an understanding of the theological concepts themselves. These groups used the word 'rational' in varying ways.

---

[180] 'Athamik', 61.

[181] Richard Whately, *Thoughts on the Sabbath* (London, 1830).

[182] Bishop John Jebb to Robert Inglis (for transmission to Peel, Secretary of State for Ireland) 16 July 1828, Peel papers, BL add. mss 40396, f.166.

They also had different assumptions about the relationship between morality, religion, and rationality, which in turn had major implications for a wide range of political and social debates. They shared a desire to infuse the political and social world with morality. However, if religion was one of the major sources of moral knowledge (and some presented it as the only source), then the manner in which this moral knowledge was to be achieved (through revelation, social control or through the development of rationality) was of great significance. Therefore, these issues were dramatically important in the varying approaches to citizenship, as well as in the meaning of the term 'intelligence' and the role that it played. If intellectual capacity could be improved among individuals, there were important implications for education and political rhetoric. This was especially true if intellectual capacity was required as one of the guarantees of independence and as a bulwark against corruption. Clearly independence was produced by a number of different factors, and the eighteenth-century debates on the importance of property ownership as a protection against the political corruption that resulted from the pursuit of wealth, continued to be stressed in this period.[183] However, many of the arguments against Catholic Emancipation or in favour of Catholic securities rested on the belief that Catholic corruption arose not from Catholic pursuit of wealth (which, in any case was not a real possibility for most Irish Catholics), but from their irrationality or ignorance. The conclusion was that they had no defence against the corrupt and worldly ambitions of the Pope. On the other hand, if the capacity for both rationality and morality existed among individual Catholics, and was not vitiated by their Catholicism, then the justification of systematic exclusion of Catholics from the body politic suddenly became questionable.

Three fundamental issues exhibit the major differences in theological approaches to citizenship: the capacity of Catholics to be good subjects and citizens, the method by which moral improvement could be achieved, and the progress of civilisation. It had always been clear that the 1830s Liberal programme, which focused on improvement through moral and rational shaping, diverged sharply from Evangelical schemes. This was partly due to the Liberal emphasis on non-denominational Christianity and rationality, but also because its fundamental long term aim was to increase the pool of politically active citizens. In Ireland the broadening of

---

[183] Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983).

separation of the two Countries'.[185] Instead, the focus of this version of Liberalism was on moral infusion, hierarchy and deference, a programme of gradual reform or the development of capacity, and responsibility.

The Liberal Protestant approach made alliances possible between Catholics and Protestants, and between the various groups within each Church, in a way that was impossible for those with other theological stances. Liberal Protestants formed a centre-pin in a shifting web of alliances that was not always predictable. The political and social implications of Liberal Protestant theological concepts made possible a middle way, because they provided the possibility of redefining the basic situation rather than providing ammunition for one side or another. In a less far-reaching, more socially based sense, Jebb and Forster saw themselves as moderates as well, and though they were opposed to Unitarianism, Deism and Latitudinarianism, this belief in civil toleration made them a natural ally on social reform issues, even though they saw the Anglican Church (rather than the gentry or the State) as having moral and social stewardship. Thus the Liberal Protestant aim of infusing the social and political worlds with moral responsibility fitted well with Jebb-style aims, at least on the social reform and poor relief issues of the 1820s. The co-operative relationship extended even to the divisive issue of education, though their differences became much more difficult to resolve in the 1830s, with the introduction of the National Schools System. However, the development of this pan-Protestant understanding of the Irish nation was fundamentally opposed to the kind of pan-Christian nation articulated by the Liberal Whigs of Bourke's cohort. Jebb, Knox and their group were invariably Tory in politics, and by the late 1820s they were trenchantly opposed to any Catholic concessions, especially those represented by Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. Therefore, in political terms, they united with even the more extreme Evangelicals. In contrast Spring Rice was even willing to go so far as to quote from Bishop Walter Blake Kirwan's 1793 speech to the Irish House of Lords, which espoused views very close to his own:

> I look upon my Roman Catholic brethren as fellow subjects and as fellow Christian believers in the same God and partners in the same redemption. Speculative differences are with me of no account - they and I have but one religion, the religion of Christianity. Therefore, as children of the same father, as travellers in the same road and seekers of the same salvation why not love each other as

---

[185] 'W.J.' to Spring Rice, 12 July [1827], Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13362(1).

> brothers? It is no part of Protestantism to persecute Catholics and without Justice to the Catholics there can be no security for the Protestant Establishment.[186]

Therefore, Bourke and Spring Rice looked elsewhere for support on political issues, especially to the Catholic merchants who had been excluded from power within the Corporation on religious grounds. Liberal Catholics, such as Bishop Doyle and Thomas Wyse, also found grounds for alliance on the basis of shared reform aims in the 1820s. Doyle recognised that his consistent concern for the welfare of poor Catholics was very much in line with that of reforming Protestants, and he used this as a basis for co-operation. His attempts at controlling agrarian violence were enthusiastically endorsed by Protestants like Spring Rice who could use this as evidence for the loyalty and constitutionalism of the Catholic priesthood. As Spring Rice told Doyle,

> I cannot avoid thanking you for your last Pastoral letter which is both in spirit and in execution in all respects worthy of your fame, and eminently calculated to make a salutary impression on the minds of our people. If I had any share in the counsels of the Government I should have had your letter stereotyped and dispersed through all Ireland, - through Connaught, Munster and Leinster [-] to guide and to instruct our peasantry, and in Ulster to dispel the prejudice of those who hitherto have given us but too much reason to consider them as our enemies.[187]

It is clear that by the mid-1820s Spring Rice and Bourke were expressing different versions of toleration and citizenship from High Anglicans like Jebb and Forster, even though they maintained co-operative relationships on specific issues. The issue of mass conversion through the Second Reformation movement was particularly important in prompting the expression of these divergent views.

Irish historians have traditionally seen the period between 1798 and the Catholic Emancipation crisis of the late 1820s as one of increasing alignment between the Protestant-Catholic conflict and the Ascendancy-Nationalist conflict. In this interpretation, 1801-1828 was a period of limbo for the elite, when the elite's hope of solving the problem of religious conflict by the Union slowly faded, and when the Catholic nation gradually emerged from quiescence.

---

[186] Notes for speech to the House of Lords, n.d. Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345. Walter Blake Kirwan was a leading Catholic intellectual in the eighteenth century, and nephew of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh. He converted to the Church of Ireland in 1787 and later became Bishop of Killala. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, 144. See also Walter B. Kirwan, *Discourse on Religious Innovations and Letter to a Friend in Galway on Why He Quit the Roman Catholic Church* (Dublin, 1787).

[187] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

However, a closer look at religious debate in the first three decades of the Union shows that neither Protestant nor Catholic responses to the problems of nationhood and citizenship were uniform. It also shows that religious and theological debate was lively and important in the development of perceptions of 'the Irish problem', and that historians looking for the roots of aggressively sectarian conflict from the 1830s onward must take theology into account. Religious debate among Protestants in the 1801-28 period clearly shows that Protestant views of nationhood and citizenship were in transition. They were not determined solely by the practicalities of maintaining elite power, in the sense that religious debates were the servant of economic and political interests. It has been shown that there was a lively theological debate in Ireland, and that the development of Irish elite social and political thought was influenced by specific theologically based concepts. Irish Liberals used these concepts to propose a way of rehabilitating the elite and maintaining its power. Their ideology was based on religious ideas but it undercut the use of Protestantism for specifically political and sectarian purposes.

The way in which theologically based concepts were combined with other elements in the production of political rhetoric is examined in the following chapters. However, for the moment it is sufficient to identify Liberal Protestant conceptions of rationality, the individual, and the importance of infusing political life with morality as being distinct from the other understandings current in the religious debate of this period. In addition, although their vision of a pan-Christian State assumed the religious superiority of the Protestant religion, it ascribed less importance to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland than did High Churchmen. Liberal Protestants believed that religious superiority had to be proved in practice, and not enforced by political means. What was fundamental to this Liberal rhetoric was the shift from a defence of Protestant Ascendancy towards a vision of Christian moralism, which was made possible by Liberal Protestant theological concepts.

It was probably never a realistic possibility that Protestants and Catholics would agree on the viability of a Christian society with more broadly diffused citizenship, measured by individual, non-denominational criteria, and which did not involve any basic restructuring of the overall political system. The model was also unable to cope with the cultural gulf between Protestants and Catholics; instead it tended to ignore this gulf. This was a fundamentally Anglican view that allowed for Catholic alliance but that could not accommodate Catholicism in

a cultural sense. Moreover, the Catholic proportion of the population was overwhelming, and in combination with the crucial impact of class and economic issues, it is clear with hindsight that any initiative based on Ascendancy assumptions was unlikely to succeed.

The ambiguous relationship between Liberal Protestants and the O'Connellite Nationalist movement during the 1820s may have been an extension of their common origins. Their different ways of responding to the penal era led to different ways of resolving the nineteenth-century problems of social cohesion and religious toleration. Kevin Whelan has argued that the Catholic gentry lost their political and economic elite status because they refused to convert. However, they retained their social and cultural elite status as an 'underground gentry' in the eighteenth century.[188] The rise in sectarian tension in the 1780s-90s increased religious demarcation between the elite and the populace, when Catholic demands for political emancipation came to be linked with Defenderism. Moreover, he has argued that this 'underground elite' became an 'elite-in-waiting' in the early nineteenth century. Under Daniel O'Connell this group were well placed to claim leadership of the emerging nationalist movement in the 1820s.[189] Liberal Protestants sought to separate religion from political participation and elite status. Conversely, the 'underground elite' sought to re-establish themselves as the legitimate leaders of a Catholic nation.[190] These two aims were compatible in the period before Catholics had gained any political power, but the two views of how to re-establish a legitimate elite and a stable society in Ireland then diverged.

O'Connellite nationalist demands for structural change using the language of rights, especially when allied with ultramontanism and the political mobilisation of the Catholic priesthood, was far a more powerful force than the Liberal Protestant rhetoric, which could not even claim to represent the whole of Irish Protestantism. It was also clear that a rhetoric of universalism resting on shared Christian values could do little more than paper over the structural divisions in Irish society. Finally, the Protestant Crusade and the development of a

---

[188] Kevin Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry? Catholic middlemen in eighteenth-century Ireland' in Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity 1760-1830* (Cork, 1996), 3-56.

[189] *Ibid.*

[190] Bartlett, *Fall and Rise*, 347 (though he does not use Whelan's language).

pan-Protestant movement in opposition to Catholic nationalism led to the evaporation of the religious middle ground claimed by this Liberal Protestant vision. In the 1820s and 1830s this vision of Liberal citizenship formed the basis of elite-led attempts at social and political reform. These were of major importance in the development of nationalism and the subsequent responses to it. However, by the 1840s few people thought pan-Christian citizenship was a viable possibility. This prompted some members of the group to explore other ways of resolving the problem, like William Smith O'Brien who turned to the Young Ireland movement. Young Ireland appropriated a Gaelic past in order to achieve a unified sense of identity, instead of focusing directly upon non-denominational Christianity. Moreover, the Young Ireland movement developed a way of seeing English and Irish cultural relations that was different from the vision developed by 1820s Liberals. Even so, in one sense 1820s Liberalism and Young Ireland represented variations on a common theme. Both were attempts to develop an integrated Irish society in which religious distinctions were stripped of their defining power, and in which a non-denominational elite was proved to be both Irish and legitimate.[191]

The Liberal Protestant opposition to the Protestant Crusade was espoused by a minority of the elite. However, this opposition was important because it showed that the link between Catholicism and Irishness on the one hand, and between Protestantism and Britishness on the other, was contested. By using the Protestant Crusade and Catholic Emancipation as reference points, Irish Liberals were able to attempt a separation of religion from their claim to Irishness and legitimate leadership of the emerging nation. Furthermore, they were able to use this religious stance to develop a non-radical Liberal political ideology, and to form alliances with Catholics and Dissenters. In short, they were capable of developing a stance that should have been impossible in a context that historians have thought was defined in oppositional religious terms, where the links between national identity and religious affiliations were primary and irrevocable. Their very existence as a group, and even more than this, their political and social importance in Limerick in the pre-Famine period, show that there was still a degree of room for manoeuvre for the elite. Their eventual exclusion from Irish identity was not a fait accompli in

---

[191] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: colonialism, nationalism and culture* (Manchester, 1988), 25-41 and 97-103; S.J. Connolly, 'Culture, identity and tradition: changing definitions of Irishness', in Brian Graham (ed.), *In Search of Ireland: a cultural geography* (London, 1997), 56.

this period, nor was it determined by a pre-existing ethnicity. The next chapters show that Irish Liberals did collaborate with the British State, but that they did not do so because their Protestantism made them British in ethnicity. Instead, they developed a specifically Irish justification for co-operation with the British State, and they did not see their attachment to Britishness as one which necessitated a rejection of Irish ethnicity. To begin this next section, Chapter 3 shows how this Liberal group began to develop their religious ideas into educational policies. Education was the first area of social policy in which members of the Liberal elite began to develop their vision of re-shaping social relations in Ireland.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION AND CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

> ... the interval between Roman Catholicks and us ... does not separate us so as to forbid our forming one harmonious Christian people ...[1]

The educational experiments of the 1820s were the first conscious and systematic attempt to use Liberal Protestant religious ideas as a basis for social policy, and so it is here that the development of Irish Liberal ideology can be seen most clearly. Through inter-denominational schooling Liberals hoped to re-shape individuals by making them moral, rational, and capable of political participation. They expected their experimental schools to reinforce their own leadership, to encourage 'improvement' among the masses, and to encourage the moral and practical skills appropriate to an emerging middle class. Most importantly, inter-denominational schooling was aimed at reducing religious division, which would in turn increase the cohesion of Irish society as a whole. Thus the Liberal elite's schemes of education were the first area in which they began to experiment with ways of re-shaping social relations in Ireland and also with ways of establishing their leadership as legitimate in the new circumstances of the Union.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries education has been an important focal point in debates about national identity and citizenship. In Ireland, many historians and more popular writers point to education in general, and to the National Schools system specifically, as one of the most effective ways in which the British State subjugated the Catholic people of Ireland during the nineteenth century. They did this by imposing the English language, English cultural values, and the Protestant religion. It is argued that the Irish National Schools system was designed by the British State for this purpose, imposed on an unwilling Ireland. Similarly, historians and popular writers have highlighted the role of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century 'hedge schools' in subverting this attempt at anglicisation, by promoting the Irish language, Irish

---

[1] 'Athamik' [Richard Bourke], *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora* (Dublin, 1820), 17. For the attribution of this pamphlet to Richard Bourke see Chapter 2 above.

cultural values, and Catholic religion (flouting the penal laws during the eighteenth century).[2] Thus the Irish National Schools system, established in 1832, has usually been seen as fundamentally English, and hedge schools as fundamentally Irish. The implication is that National Schools and hedge schools were designed and used by the State and by an emerging 'nation', respectively, to shape the ideas and values of the population. When viewed from a distance this approach seems reasonable, in part because the National Schools were funded and supervised by the British State. However, a different picture emerges when we look more carefully at the aims and motivations of those who proposed education schemes, at the development of the National Schools system, and at the ways these schools operated.

This chapter argues that the experimental schools created in the 1820s by Liberal Protestants demonstrate the process by which the Liberal concepts which had been developed in religious debate were incorporated into social policy. Through elementary schooling, Irish Liberals attempted to recast social relations in Ireland in order to re-establish their own legitimate leadership, and to create a hierarchical society of interdependent groups. They sought to diminish the importance of religious divisions, and to teach both populace and elite to become morally responsible individuals. Irish Liberals sought what they called 'rational reform', which allowed them to demonstrate that the Irish elite was responsive to changing circumstances and popular demands, but which also allowed them to determine the nature and extent of change. Since most elite children were educated by private tutors or in English schools, the education debate was actually about the provision of State-funded primary schools for the poor, most of whom were Catholic.

By the 1820s most Catholic children received their schooling in 'hedge schools' (so called because classes were generally held in the open air during summer). Set up during the penal era to provide education for Catholics, by the 1820s they were providing basic schooling

---

[2] See for example, Thomas A. Boylan and Timothy P. Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland: the propagation and ideological function of economic discourse in the nineteenth century* (London, 1992); J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Education 1808-1870: a study of the working class school reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon, 1972); Phillip McCann (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1977); J. Hurt, *Education in Evolution* (London, 1971); 'Educational policy and social control in early Victorian Britain', *Past and Present*, 59 (Nov. 1970), 189-208. See also Mary Daly, 'The Development of the National Education System 1831-1840' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History* (Dublin, 1979), 151-63.

for some half a million children, of whom it was estimated that 80 percent were Catholic. Because hedge schools were neither funded by the State nor the Church, they were largely immune from elite, State, or clerical control. In addition to the hedge schools, the Catholic Church was also entering a period of expansion in the provision of clerically controlled schools. This was encouraged by the gradual modification and then repeal of the penal laws (especially in the 1780s and 90s) and by the establishment and State endowment of a Catholic seminary at Maynooth in 1795. By the 1820s the Church had established 70 schools for the Catholic middling classes, 352 free day schools for the Catholic poor, and was educating around 400,000 fee-paying Catholic pupils each year in 9,352 fee-charging schools.[3] This expansion of Catholic schools was an attempt to counteract the proselytising activities of Protestant schools, but was also aimed at bringing the *de facto* Catholic education of the hedge schools under clerical control.[4] However the clergy and religious orders were financially dependent on a generally poor population, which by 1835 was only able to support 1 priest to every 2,991 Irish parishioners on average. This ratio of priests to parishioners was even worse in the archdiocese of Cashel (which included Limerick), where it was 1:3,227.[5] Cottiers and landless labourers in particular could not afford fees, since their income was low and fluctuating. Thus even had it been possible to expand clerically controlled schools sufficiently quickly to cater for the relatively better off urban Catholic population, these schools could not have catered for the mass of Catholic poor in rural areas. As Spring Rice pointed out to Bishop Doyle,

> The catholic clergy are not, at present, sufficiently numerous for the duties they are called upon to fulfil. A priesthood, applicable in point of numbers to a population of 3,500,000 in 1791, is insufficient for the religious instruction of 6,000,000 of catholics in 1822.[6]

British governments of all political hues found repugnant the idea of funding schools controlled by the Catholic Church directly. Instead, State-funded schools in the first quarter of the century in Ireland were operated by a range of agencies and under a hotchpotch of

---

[3] I. Murphy and S. O Suilleabhain, 'Catholic Education' in P. Corish (ed.), *A History of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1971), vol.5.

[4] [J.W. Doyle], *Lettters on the State of Education in Ireland; and on Bible Societies. by J.K.L.* (Dublin, 1824).

[5] K. T. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1984), 172-3.

[6] [Thomas Spring Rice], *Considerations on the Present State of Ireland, and on the best means of improving the condition of its inhabitants. by an Irishman* (London, 1822), 36.

legislative provision, all of which involved participation or supervision by the Church of Ireland or by societies that advertised Protestant missionary aims. These included the Tudor parochial schools and the Erasmus Smith schools (operated by endowed Church of Ireland Foundations), the Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion (founded by three members of the Church of Ireland and operating schools under the direct control of the clergy), the London Hibernian Society (which received part of its funding from the Association for Discountenancing Vice, and which became infamous for proselytism), and the Kildare Place Society.[7] Even the Lord Lieutenant's Fund, set up in 1819 as a way of encouraging poor Catholics to build schools, was in practice taken over by Protestants. This was because the Fund required that the local parish Church of Ireland clergy retain control over the appointment of schoolmasters, and that the title to the land upon which each school was situated must be vested in the Church of Ireland parish clergy and churchwardens.[8] By 1825 only 12 of the total 481 grants had been made to Catholics, a fact which led to considerable criticism by the Catholic Church.[9] The vigour and methods with which Protestant schools promoted conversion varied, and some officially disavowed this aim. However, by the early 1820s every one of these societies and foundations was practising proselytism. That is, they were using their schools to teach Protestant religion and encouraging the conversion of Catholic children. This was based on the belief that correct morality stemmed from true religion, but the result was that Catholics treated all Protestant schools with suspicion. Suspicion turned to outright opposition and mass Catholic withdrawal in the period between 1819 and 1825, when the powerful Catholic trio of Daniel O'Connell, Dr. John MacHale, and Bishop Doyle led a revolt within the Kildare Place Society. This campaign focused public criticism on the Society's management, the supply of funds to Protestant proselytising societies, and proselytism within Kildare Place schools.[10] As a result, by 1825 State-funded schools in

---

[7] The various school-providers were examined in 1825 (400) xii, 1826-27 (12) xii, 1826-27 (13, 89, 441, 442, 443, 509, 516), xiii. *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland.*

[8] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 59.

[9] [J.W. Doyle, (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Letters on the State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825), 24.

[10] Letters by O'Connell in *DEP*, 4 Mar. 1824 and 9 Mar. 1824; MacHale's letters on education between 1820 and 1824 published under the name 'Hierophilos' in Bernard O'Reilly, *John*

total catered for only about one-quarter of the Irish primary school aged population in total, mainly the Protestants. The vast majority of the Catholic population was being educated in hedge schools.[11]

Despite the way it developed in practice, the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland (known as the Kildare Place Society) was different from other Protestant educational societies. When founded in 1811, it was intended to be an inter-denominational society for educating the poor. Its stated intention was 'That for the accomplishment of the "great work" of educating the Irish poor, schools should be upon the most liberal principles, and should be divested of all sectarian distinctions in Christianity.'[12] This contrasted with the stated intention of other school societies of the time, such as the London Hibernian Society, which stated that

> The great body of the Irish wander like sheep, that have no faithful shepherd to lead them ... The hope, therefore, that the Irish will ever be a tranquil and loyal people, and still more that piety and virtue will flourish among them, must be built on the anticipated reduction of popery.[13]

In order to achieve the Kildare Place Society's inter-denominational aim, the Management Committee decided that the Bible should be read in its schools, but 'without note or comment', and that no attempt was to be made to teach the catechism. There were to be no religious restrictions on teachers, no insistence on Church of Ireland clerical approval, nor insistence that school land be retained by the Church. The Society was innovative in educational technique, active in the development and distribution of schoolbooks, in the establishment of model schools for teacher-training, and in establishing an effective system of regular school inspection.[14] Its inter-denominational policy put the Kildare Place Society in a position to attract substantial parliamentary funding because it satisfied two basic

---

MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam: his life, times, and correspondence (New York and Cincinnati, 1890), 2 vols; [Doyle], *State of Education* and his evidence in 1830 (654) vii. *Second Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland*, 426-7.

[11] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 100-101.

[12] 1812-1813 (21), vi. *Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland: fourteenth report, view of the chief foundations, with some general remarks and result of deliberations*, 11.

[13] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 70.

[14] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 37-58.

recommendations of the Fourteenth Report of the Education Commissioners, published in 1812: that State funding should be provided for schools specifically aimed at the poor, and for schools that separated Christian moral teaching and literacy in the classroom from doctrinal teaching by the clergies of each Church. It was clear from the recent experience of Protestant Societies that the Catholic Church would strenuously oppose schools that promoted specifically Protestant teachings.[15] The Kildare Place Society quickly became the major provider of State-funded schools in Ireland. By 1831 it was educating 137,639 per annum, more than all other State-funded bodies put together, but it was catering for the poor Protestant population in the main.[16]

After 1832, State funding for schools in Ireland was diverted to the National Schools system. Introduced in 1832 by the Whigs, this system was inter-denominational and State-funded, and was intended to provide a broadly Christian moral education and also teach reading and basic practical skills. This system was initially supported by all the major denominations, because it was seen as a way of gaining State funding to educating more children. However, the Church of Ireland and the Irish Dissenting Churches soon withdrew over the issue of religious teaching, and the system became a State-funded Catholic education system by default. Even so, the system was not created or entirely controlled by Catholic clergy or laymen, despite the claims of Thomas Wyse.[17] Although the National Schools Act was put forward by Lord Stanley (as Secretary for Ireland), it was not an anglicising initiative created by English politicians or administrators. It was promoted in the British Parliament by Irish Liberals in the main. It was based on their ideas that had been developed in the religious debates of the 1820s (discussed in the last chapter), and on their experience of setting up schools on their own estates. This was not an example of the Irish elite seeking to assimilate the Irish population to English culture, nor were they acting as an arm of an imperial British State. These experimental schools, and the Irish National system which followed, show that Irish Liberals were concerned

---

[15] 1812-1813 (21), vi. *Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland: fourteenth report, view of the chief foundations, with some general remarks and result of deliberations.*

[16] Kildare Place Society, 35th Report, quoted in D.H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: the National System of education in the nineteenth century* (London, 1970), 87.

[17] Thomas Wyse, *Notes on Education Reform in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century ...*, ed. Winifred Wyse (Waterford, 1901), 15, 25-7.

to shape the Irish populace in ways that they believed would produce a cohesive society and, in the process to re-establish their own role as the legitimate leaders of Irish society.

The education provided by National schools never became fundamentally Catholic in the sense that the curriculum, school practices, and funding were controlled by the Catholic clergy.[18] The National Schools continued to be funded and supervised by the State, and one of the fundamental principles written into the legislation was that denominational religious teaching should remain separate from the core curriculum. The continued insistence of the Board of Education on these inter-denominational principles provoked heated reaction from some Catholic clerics led by Dr MacHale (Catholic Bishop of Tuam from 1834), who argued that the clergy should control the hiring and firing of teachers, the selection of texts, and the trusteeship of school property.[19] On the other hand, this continuing relationship with the State did not mean that the Irish National Schools were tailored specifically to the aim of anglicising the populace, in either cultural values or religion. There were some specifically Protestant and non-Gaelic cultural assumptions involved, and schooling was conducted entirely in English. However, these aspects of the system were developed entirely within the Irish environment, by Liberal members of an Irish elite, who sought to achieve their own aims not those of an English State.[20]

Despite the widespread concern about hedge schools as nurseries of Nationalism, historians must be careful about the tendency to assume that hedge schools were Nationalist and the National Schools were intent on anglicisation. Much has been made of this contrast by modern authors, for example Brian Friel's *Translations* which portrays an open conflict between the Irish language and Nationalism being taught in hedge schools, and the deliberate

---

[18] On this general issue, see E. Larkin, 'The quarrel among the Roman Catholic hierarchy over the national system of education in Ireland 1838-41' in R.B. Browne (ed.), *The Celtic Cross* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1964).

[19] The Catholic hierarchy did not support MacHale unanimously, and there was a highly publicised and heated exchange between Archbishop McHale and Dr Murray (Archbishop of Dublin) which was referred to Rome. Even so, the National Schools system was under heavy fire from the Church on the eve of the Famine, and this increased with the appointment of the ultramontane Paul Cullen as Archbishop of Armagh in 1846.

[20] Irish and English aims did coincide at times, and this is one reason for the historical confusion about the origins of Irish educational ideas.

anglicisation attempted by the National Schools.[21] This also draws on the interpretation of the National Schools produced by the Young Ireland Movement's newspapers, the *Nation* and the *United Irishman*, in the 1840s and 1850s. Hedge schools probably did play a role in the development of an Irish national consciousness, because they grew in response to the Penal Laws. However, they did not act as the guardians of Irish language of Irish national culture in a systematic and self-conscious way, especially in the early nineteenth century when they were no longer illegal. Hedge school curricula varied, depending on the skills and attitudes of their teachers, but because attendance was voluntary the schools necessarily focused on the pragmatic needs of the local population. While hedge school teachers did sometimes present Radical ideology and anti-British Nationalism, more often they focused on providing the basic skills necessary for clerical and commercial positions in the towns, for the priesthood, and for general survival in a community where the language of commerce and the law was English. Thus while Irish might be the language of everyday communication, it was actively discouraged by some schools and parents, and relatively few children were taught to read in Irish.[22] In fact, the decline in the Irish language was well-advanced before the introduction of the National Schools System in 1832. Reports on Irish-speaking, by the Royal Dublin Society and parochial surveys between 1814 and 1819, indicate that Irish was already declining in Ireland generally, and in Limerick, Tipperary, Roscommon and Sligo in particular, though it is estimated that about half the population spoke Irish in 1799.[23] Based on 1851 Census data, about 63 percent of adults born in County Limerick (but not the City of Limerick) before 1800 spoke Irish, as compared to only 10 percent of those born after 1840. That this decline was entirely connected with the first two decades of National Schooling is unlikely. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that for at least the first and second decade, most National Schools were simply the existing pay schools and had teachers that merely continued under new funding arrangements,

---

[21] Brian Friel, *Translations* (London, 1981).

[22] Parental and hedge school discouragement of Irish-speaking led to the practice of hanging a 'tally-stick' around the child's neck (where each lapse into Irish earned a notch and chastisement). This practice was recalled by Archbishop McHale, who attended a hedge school in Mayo around 1800 as a child, and whose father (who spoke only Irish) had hung such a stick around his neck. See Brian O'Cuiv, 'Irish Language and Literature, 1691-1845' in *NHI* iv. 381. The 1825 Education Commissioners reported that in 1806 only 20,000 of the 1,500,000 children whose household language was Irish were able to read in Irish. 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 86.

[23] O Cuiv, 'Irish language and literature', 383.

and were already operating in English before 1832. Since new schools had to provide one-third of the funding needed before they could claim State funding, the vast majority of pay or hedge schools were unable to take advantage of the new system in the short term.[24]

Religious thought and debate had a special significance for education; both religious and educational institutions focused on the development of morality and social responsibility in the population. This was seen as important in itself, but also as one of the most effective means of dealing with 'unrest'. If moral responsibility was increased, then social cohesion was also increased. Thus it was possible to teach Catholics to conform to social and moral teaching. Despite disagreements over the cause and implications of agrarian violence, there was widespread agreement among the elite (and also among the Catholic Hierarchy) that education had an important role in preventing or resolving 'unrest', and that religiously based morality was fundamental in achieving social harmony. Nearly everyone among the various elite groups involved in these debates shared the view that Catholic hedge schools were nurseries of Radicalism. This was partly because they had been established during the eighteenth century in defiance of the law (which at the time forbade Catholic education), and partly because the State was unable to control the teachers or the kind of education they disseminated. As the Fourteenth Report of the Board of Education concluded in 1813, hedge schools were 'calculated to incite lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, or to lead to dissention [sic] or disloyalty.'[25] Bishop Jebb also opposed hedge schools, because he said they

> exposed ... the minds and morals of our peasantry ... to the deleterious influence of bad books, bad guides, and bad Companions, without any effort to prevent their scanty education from becoming the avenue of vice rather than the path to Virtue.[26]

Similarly, in 1822 Spring Rice commented that it was no wonder

> that the youth of the country, who have thus learned to admire as heroic the deeds of rapine and violence of the robber and murderer, should imitate the acts on which their minds have been accustomed to dwell with interest and delight.[27]

---

[24] Paul Connell, *Parson, Priest and Master: National education in County Meath, 1824-41* (Dublin, 1995), 54-5. He notes the remarkable extent to which Meath followed national patterns.

[25] 1812-1813 (21) vi. *Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland*, 5.

[26] Jebb to Brodrick, 1 Dec. 1813, f.8, Brodrick papers NLI ms 8866(2).

[27] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland*, 32.

This unease about hedge schools was also shared by members of the Catholic hierarchy, including James Doyle (Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), even though he emphasised the fact that they had only developed because more regular educational provision had been denied to the Catholic population under the penal laws.[28] Schools promoted by the gentry, whether Catholic or Protestant, were expected to emphasise good morality and good subjecthood, whereas popular-based schools did not necessarily have to operate according to any such assumptions. Spring Rice's solution was to try to dissolve the link between hedge schooling and Radicalism, and to regain elite control over schooling. Hedge schools would be replaced by a new system of schools that would inject education with such morality and rationality as would ensure that the Irish poor would be bound 'to the [State's] laws in virtue and happiness', instead of rendering them 'enemies of social order, morality, and religion.'[29]

The belief that religion must be the fundamental basis of morality was so widely agreed in Ireland that those secular approaches to morality, which gained some ground in the 1830s and 40s in England, were assumed to be unacceptable in Ireland by all participants in the debate, whatever their own beliefs. For example, Lord Cloncurry identified the widespread Irish assumption that the Churches were the primary guardians of morality as the major reason for the failure of Owenism in Ireland:

> The Duke of Leinster, your Lordship, and the great body of Patriot Proprietors were anxious to give the proposal a trial; but it was whispered [by those that Cloncurry calls the 'Saints'] that Owen was not religious, and he was hooted down (by the very persons who declare that our People are worse than Idolaters,) lest these same People should be withdrawn from Anti-Christ.[30]

Even so, there was substantial disagreement among the Irish elite about the aims of education and the appropriate methods for achieving those aims, within a general moral and constitutional framework. These differences were shaped by the assumptions and ideas developed in the religious debates discussed in the last chapter. They include the issues of whether Catholics were capable of morality, what methods should be used to create or improve

---

[28] [Doyle], *State of Education*, 6.

[29] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland*, 33.

[30] [Cloncurry], *Letter from the Rt Hon Lord Cloncurry, to the most noble the Marquis of Downshire, on the conduct of the Kildare-Street Education Society, and the Employment of the Poor* (Dublin, 1826), 9.

that morality, and whether education was merely an extension of church catechising or not. These differences in Protestant approaches had clear implications for the debates about whether Catholic children should be given access to the Bible and whether Irish education should be inter-denominational. They also affected the most basic assumptions about the aims of education and how those aims should be achieved. Liberal Protestants, Evangelicals, and High Churchmen shared a desire to inject secular life with morality, but Liberal Protestants alone sought a non-denominational Christian morality, which emphasised the viability of shaping morality without conversion. The High Church schemes promoted by Jebb and his Archbishop (Brodrick) focused on specifically Church of Ireland catechism, basic moral education and protecting the children against 'evil influence'. They were also concerned about encouraging dissatisfaction among the poor by giving them too much general education, and were much less concerned about encouraging rationality than Liberal Protestants. They supported the inculcation of 'useful knowledge' (like needlework and spinning for girls and agricultural techniques for boys) as long as this did not displace or undermine religious education, or give the poor ideas above their station. Evangelicals focused on creating an awareness of sin, preventing 'backsliding' by strenuous attention to discipline, creating 'habits of industry', and so on, but were much less concerned with useful knowledge or rationality.

While Liberal Protestant education schemes were also concerned to create morally responsible subjects through 'habits of industry', cleanliness and basic Christian morality, they were also far more ambitious than either High Church or Evangelical education schemes. Liberal schools were supposed to re-shape the social structure as well as to teach Christian morality. Primary school education was intended to build upon a basic morality that Liberals believed Catholics already had, and were also intended to encourage Christian knowledge, using a range of methods to instil rationality, and using Christian readings and non-religious moral tracts. However, Irish Liberals also intended their inter-denominational schools to break down the religious and cultural barriers that, in their view, were preventing the development of a cohesive society. In this sense, the attempt to make sure that the State controlled education was a deliberate attempt to prevent it being controlled by any of the Irish Churches (whether

Church of Ireland, Catholic, or Dissenting).[31] In addition, Liberals saw education as providing both the knowledge and rationality necessary for a new, 'intelligent' middle class that would develop Ireland's manufacturing industry and the basis for a newly enlarged citizenry. Finally, while High Church and Evangelical schemes focused on individual morality, this was aimed at teaching the moral responsibilities of subjecthood. Liberal education, on the other hand, focused on the production of individuals, some of whom would develop sufficient moral and intellectual capacity so that they could act as responsible independent agents in social, economic and political spheres.

Bourke also saw inter-denominational education as a way of encouraging the re-establishment of an organic society. As early as 1820 he hoped that such a system

> might help to nip religious prejudice and animosity in the bud; that those of both persuasions, educated at my school, would recall their boyish days with pleasure; recollect their school-fellows with attachment; and the Protestant Founder of their little seminary with some regard.[32]

Spring Rice agreed that education of the poor in Ireland should be placed 'on such a foundation as will ensure to all sects equal advantages, and will extend to every peasant the means of instruction. One common system for all, whether Protestant or Catholic, we consider to be infinitely preferable to separate and exclusive schools.'[33] He argued that if Catholic and Protestant schools remained separate, then

> Education, in place of removing the land-marks which separate sects, becomes ... the cause of new divisions; the lines are more strongly drawn, and are traced at a period which ensures their duration through life.[34]

Bourke also believed that through inter-denominational education

> the people of these different persuasions will be united together in one bond of peace, and taught to look up to the Government as their common protector and friend, and that thus there will be secured to the State good subjects and to

---

[31] Indeed, Spring Rice later wrote an article on education in the *Edinburgh Review* (referring to the English education question), which stated the case quite plainly: 'While rendering to the Church the things which belong to the Church, let them resist, like free men, the encroaching usurpation which seeks to place the clergy of the Establishment in possession of the exclusive right of conducting education.' [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Ministerial Plan of Education - Church and Tory Misrepresentations', *Edinburgh Review*, 70 (Oct. 1839), 180.

[32] 'Athamik', 59.

[33] [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Education of the Irish Poor', *Edinburgh Review* 42 (Nov. 1825), 222.

[34] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation*, 27.

Society good men.[35]

This rhetoric of universalism and unity was also expressed in the campaign for a inter-denominational provincial college in Munster during the late 1830s, which was led by William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Wyse, and supported by de Vere and Spring Rice, by members of the Catholic gentry like William and James Roche, and by the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, Dr John Ryan.[36] As William Smith O'Brien told a Limerick meeting in January 1839,

> We are met, too, for the purpose of laying the foundation of an institution, which itself will tend, by uniting in youth persons of opposite creeds, to soften the asperities which at present exist in society amongst us, to teach us to respect the feelings and opinions of those who differ from us, and in youth to cement friendships which in age will not be disunited.[37]

The Kildare Place Society theoretically allowed for religious diversity and common Christianity by their policy of reading the Bible 'without note or comment' and it is clear that this provision made it possible for Bourke to gain funding for his schools without violating his views on teaching common Christianity. Even so, the idea of compiling a set of religious readings that would satisfy the requirements of both Church of Ireland and Catholic clergies, and which could therefore be given to all the children together, had been discussed in the early 1820s by both Richard Bourke and Thomas Spring Rice, who both urged the importance of reserving anything contentious for the separate religious instruction to be provided by the appropriate clergy. This formed the basis of the Liberal Protestant style of Christian texts, that were later promoted by the National Schools system, and written by Whately.[38] 'Athamik' thought that the students should every morning 'join in a brief form of Christian, and, if I may so express it, of *generic* prayer; containing nothing that should remind them of *specific* differences of faith; or infringe the peculiar tenets of either Church. This form, I would previously have submitted to the parochial clergy of both religions, for approval.'[39] Spring Rice suggested that 'certain extracts might be made from the Scriptures ... which would give no offence to pious Catholics', and he

---

[35] Bourke to Lord Stanley, 30 Sept. 1833, *HRA* series 1, xvii. 227.

[36] My account of these proposals makes substantial use of Pat Kearney, 'Limerick's Campaign for a University: 1838-1845', *OLJ* 26 (Winter 1989), 26-35.

[37] 'Provincial College Meeting', *Limerick Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1839. This meeting was chaired by Aubrey de Vere.

[38] J.M. Goldstrom, 'Richard Whately and Political Economy in School Books, 1833-38', *IHS* 15:58 (1966), 131-46.

[39] 'Athamik', 54-5.

cited experiments in France and Italy as proof that this was possible despite the Pope's injunction against biblical readings in school.[40] This shared belief in the practical viability of teaching a common core of Christian truth was one of the fundamentals put forward in the National Schools plan of the early 1830s. It is true that Whately privately hoped education would result in the conversion of Catholics to the Church of Ireland, and went so far as to tell Nassau Senior that

> if we give [mixed education] up, we give up the only hope of weaning the Irish from the abuses of Popery. I cannot openly support the Education Board as an instrument of conversion. I have to fight its battles with one hand, and that my best, tied behind me.[41]

However, he also believed that 'mixed education [was] gradually enlightening the mass of the people', and he actively promoted the dissemination of a non-denominational core Christian knowledge. He recommended that the National Schools' list of books should include 'such portions of Sacred ... History or of religious and moral teaching as may be ... approved by the entire Board', and he subsequently compiled a set of religious teachings that was approved for use in schools by both hierarchies.[42] His ideal may have been an Ireland that was shaped by the Church of Ireland, but in practice Christianity and Christian morality would suffice.

Every indication is that the Liberal commitment to inter-denominational education went far beyond pragmatism. For example, despite the fact that Bourke's own religious beliefs were Protestant, he espoused the principle that teachers could be of either persuasion:

> Whether my schoolmaster were Protestant, or Roman Catholick; and consequently whether the intended proselyte would be a recruit for, or a deserter from, my Church ... the detection of such an attempt [to proselytise] should be followed by the school-master's dismissal.

He concluded:

> On this and some other points, I am *"Papist, or Protestant, or both between;"* and though this may not, in opinions, be "*a golden mean;*" - for in these one ... should be fixed; - yet it may be so, *in the feelings* which we entertain, towards the respective members of those religions; and may ...define the desirable medium

---

[40] [Spring Rice], 'Education of the Irish Poor', 222-3.

[41] *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately* ed. Elizabeth Jane Whately (London, 1866) ii. 246.

[42] Richard Whately, *Scriptural Education ... in Ireland* (London 1832), 26; Richard Whately, *The Duty of Christians to Diffuse Religious Instruction* (London, 1832).

point.[43]

This was not empty rhetoric. In the early 1820s he sent a Catholic hedge school teacher from the local village to the Kildare Place model school in Dublin for training, and then employed him at Thornfield.[44] By 1825, the teachers of both the boys' and girls' schools at Thornfield were Catholic, and other local Liberal gentry were also providing Catholic teachers in their schools. These included Thomas Spring Rice's schools at Mount Trenchard, Lady Clare's school at Kishiquirk (near Murroe), and boys' and girls' schools at Murroe (founded by Father Costelloe and supported by Lord Cloncurry and Matthew Barrington).[45] In fact it seems that all the schools in the area had Catholic teachers by 1826, with the exception of the free school for poor Protestant children that was provided by the Church of Ireland.[46]

Bourke's attitudes toward Catholics were focused on the present and the short to medium term future, rather than on the long term. As he said,

> the interval between Roman Catholicks and us ... does not separate us so as to forbid our forming one harmonious Christian people, or our hoping or foreboding that we may one day coalese [sic.].[47]

However, of the two hopes, harmony was a more important and immediate concern. He was far more concerned about the negative effect of proselytism than about the continued existence of Catholicism, and in fact he admired the Catholic attachment to their religion as a positive Irish characteristic, despite his personal conviction that Protestantism was superior. For this reason he thought it entirely reasonable that Catholic and Protestant pupils should be instructed in their separate denominational catechisms by the appropriate clergymen:

> When prayers were over, the Protestant scholars should attend the master, in a room apart; and be there examined in their Church Catechism; and hear a selected portion of the Scriptures read; accompanied with a brief explanation of any passages which might require it; prepared, possibly, by myself; and subjected to the approbation of my Rector. The Roman Catholic boys, who had in the mean

---

[43] 'Athamik', 54 and 58.

[44] Elizabeth Bourke to Mr Logan (Secretary, Cork Hibernian School Society), 11 Aug. 1824, Bourke papers NLI ms 21768.

[45] The attempt by the Church of Ireland parish priest to impose a Protestant teacher in the girls' school in Murroe in the 1850s led to a controversy between the priest, and Matthew Barrington and Lord Cloncurry. Mark Tierney, *Murroe and Boher* (Dublin, 1966), 148 and 150.

[46] 1826 (12) xii. *Second Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland; Tipperary Free Press*, 27 Jan. 1827; NAI, Education Board Reports, no.2c, 56, 64. f.109, quoted in Tierney, *Murroe and Boher*, 151-5.

[47] 'Athamik', 17.

> time been occupied with their tasks, in school, should then change places with the others; to be examined in *their* Catechism; and read a portion of such religious work, as their parish priest should have recommended for the purpose.[48]

Having devised this inter-denominational model, in practice his own schools were entirely composed of Catholics because of the local demographics in County Limerick, which ensured that any school composed of the children of tenants would be entirely Catholic.[49] However, we should not interpret his inter-denominational ideas as a Liberal gloss on what was in reality a wholly Protestant system of education. Bourke was developing an experimental school that would provide an educational model applicable throughout Ireland, even in districts where tenants were both Catholic and Protestant. This interpretation is borne out by his subsequent support of the National Schools System and by his educational proposals in New South Wales (see Chapter 6). His Liberal religious principles also demanded that, despite his own religious beliefs, the Douay version of the Bible should be used instead of the King James version, and he introduced it in 1823 when it first became widely available in Ireland. At the same time, he continued to receive funding from the Kildare Place Society, whose rules allowed either the Douay or Authorised versions even though it was becoming an increasingly sectarian organisation in practice.[50] Richard and his wife Elizabeth Bourke acknowledged that Bible reading was commonly forbidden by the Limerick priesthood, but the parish priest of Castleconnell co-operated.[51] Bourke's explanation was that the children attending his schools were allowed to read the Bible because the local Catholic parish priest had open access to the children, was on good terms with Bourke, and therefore recognised that he was not a

---

[48] *Ibid.*, 55.

[49] 'Regulations of the Ahane Schools', 19 Oct. 1838, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21768; 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 604. The demographic makeup of the area meant that a population defined in class terms (for example, Bourke's poor tenants) in fact had predictable religious affiliations. This was not necessarily true of schools in other parts of southern Ireland like Cork.

[50] Matthew Barrington to Bourke, 6 Jan. 1824, ML ms 403/7. The Kildare Place Society also approved the use of either Douay or Authorised versions, 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*; 1830 (665) vii. *Evidence to the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland, Parliamentary Papers*, 514 (Bourke's evidence, 16 June 1830); Bourke to Thomas Barnwell, Secretary of the Kildare Place Society (draft), 21 Nov. 1823, Bourke papers NLI ms 8474(3).

[51] Elizabeth Bourke to Miss Rolleston (Hibernian School Society), 19 Oct. 1823, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21768; 1825 (129) viii. *Report from the [Commons] Select Committee on the State of Ireland*, Bourke's evidence, 172-84.

proselytiser.[52] An alternative view is that the local Catholic priest was unrepresentative and in a very real sense 'un-Catholic'.[53]

Regardless of these local divisions within the Catholic Church, the Douay version was supported by the more Liberal Catholic Bishops like James Doyle, who went so far as to annotate a Douay edition for widespread circulation and use in schools.[54] Bourke went even further than this, and instructed that

> in general, the books read should be tracts prepared for the purpose; combining entertainment with lessons of morality; and of instruction for the practical conduct of life; with reference, perhaps, to what the reader's probable lot in life will be.[55]

He was even willing to use Quaker moral tracts which were obtained for him in Dublin by Matthew Barrington.[56] Doyle and most other Catholic clerics opposed the Church of Ireland's insistence on using the Authorised version (or indeed any version) as the sole text for reading, spelling and so on as well as for religious and moral purposes. In fact, it had never been the Kildare Place Society's official policy to teach spelling and reading from the Bible only, and as early as 1813 they gave official sanction for the use of a wider range of books in their schools when they appointed a sub-committee to create spelling and reading books. They followed this by creating arithmetic, geography, and needlework books as well.[57] As late as 1825 their

---

[52] 1830 (665) vii. *Evidence to the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland, Parliamentary Papers*, 514.

[53] The parish priest was Father Michael Crotty snr who seems to have supported the unorthodox religious ideas of his nephew and namesake (parish priest in Birr, also in the diocese of Killaloe) and refused to collect the 'Catholic rent' in the 1820s. Michael Crotty jnr was at the centre of a religious schism in Birr during the 1820s, in which he was opposed by the clergy but supported by most of his parishioners. He was excommunicated in 1836, and during the 1830s he married, established a breakaway Church in Birr with his cousin William, and began to publish pamphlets which criticised Catholic doctrine and praised the principles of the Reformation. Michael Crotty snr allowed his nephew to say mass in English at Castleconnell during 1837, and he went on to deliver a lecture in Limerick. *Clare Journal*, 23 Feb., 2, 6, 9 Mar. 1837. The entire episode is described at length in Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992), ch.4. See also Michael Crotty [jnr], *The Catholic, not the Roman Catholic Church, exhibited in letters by the Reverend Messieurs Michael and William Crotty, Catholic Priests of Parsonstown* (Dublin, 1836). Ironically, Daniel Vaughan, Bishop of Killaloe between 1851 and 1859, was William Crotty's uncle.

[54] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland.* Archbishop Troy in particular rejected the Authorised in favour of the Douay version, and wanted comment on disputed doctrines like the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[55] 'Athamik', 56.

[56] Matthew Barrington to Bourke, 6 Jan. 1824, ML ms 403/7.

[57] *Second Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland* [usually known as the Kildare Place Society] (Dublin, 1814), 15-17.

Schoolmaster's Manual reiterated the belief that

> any system of education for the Poor of Ireland, should provide for religious instruction; but at the same time, anxious that all denominations of Christians should unite in harmony and brotherly love; (towards which, perhaps, nothing more effectually tends, than being educated together, with mutual confidence and kindly feeling;) we wish to establish such a plan as may embrace all classes of professing Christians, leading them to a knowledge of the great and vital truths proclaimed by their Heavenly Master, but, at the same time, forbearing to introduce any subject which might provoke religious controversy.[58]

This kind of tolerant rhetoric allowed people like Bourke and Spring Rice to use the Kildare Place Society for funding, books and teacher training, and at the same time to continue insisting that their schools avoided denominational catechising. However, by 1825 it was clear that the Society's stated policies did not match the practices in many of their schools. The Kildare Place Society granted funding to schools that were also funded by the Association for Discountenancing Vice or the London Hibernian School Society, and by the 1820s about one-third of their schools fell into this category. Both the latter organisations specifically required extensive Church of Ireland catechising, required that the Authorised Bible be read, and used specifically Church of Ireland religious works to teach spelling and reading.[59] The Kildare Place Society's refusal to accept Bishop Doyle on the governing Board in 1823 had led to the accusation that the Society was in fact no longer inter-denominational, and that it was increasingly anti-Catholic. The 1825 Inquiry highlighted these differences between official policy and widespread use of Kildare Place Society schools for proselytism, and gave publicity to the Catholic hierarchy's heavy opposition, that built upon the publications of MacHale as 'Hierophilos' and upon the O'Connell-led opposition to the society in the previous two years.[60] In 1828 the Kildare Place Society tried to regain Catholic support by ruling that the Bible *must* not be used to teach reading or spelling, but it was too late. Catholic Bishops like Doyle had

---

[58] Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, *The Schoolmaster's Manual recommended for the regulation of schools* (Dublin, 1825), 17.

[59] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 604.

[60] For opposition, see William Magee, A *Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation 24 Oct. 1822; including a Letter to His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin ... by 'JKL'* (Dublin, 1822); Bishop Doyle's reply, [J.W. Doyle], *A Letter to ... the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin [Magee] in reply to his sermon of 24 Oct. 1822* (Dublin, 1822); and the Catholic Hierarchy's comments generally in 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland.* These all involved objections to Protestant dominance on the steering committee, to the reading of scriptures 'without note or comment' by what were usually Protestant teachers and from Protestant Bibles or scripture selections.

despaired of regaining influence within this society, and now looked toward Spring Rice's Select Committee Report for educational policy that was acceptable for Catholics.[61]

The Liberal Protestant emphasis on the acquisition of both practical knowledge and rationality was of fundamental importance in both the aim of creating morally responsible individuals and potential citizens. On the surface the concerns of morality and social cohesion that were shared by all these educational schemes provided the grounds for co-operative alliances, although the issue of proselytism became a fundamental divider. However, the Liberal vision was both distinct and systematic, and it cannot be understood unless the 1820s theological debates and the development of an Irish Liberal Protestant stance are understood. Liberal Protestants like Bourke and Spring Rice saw a much closer link between secular and spiritual knowledge than did either Jebb or the Evangelicals, and this enabled them to argue that both secular and spiritual knowledge were important in moral improvement, and also led them to stress a much more general and widespread education. Schooling was neither a luxury, nor necessarily Radical, nor a method of social control alone (though this was certainly one of its functions). Instead, they argued that rational education was important for moral improvement, the development of political capacity, and for social cohesion. They stressed practical skills, rationality, and Christian morality, and argued that rationality (when combined with faith and access to the Bible) could ultimately produce spiritual truth. The Reformation had 'freed men from the yoke of ecclesiastical superiority; and ... given an impulse to the human mind, by acknowledging the right of private judgement'.[62] What could be more important than an educational endeavour which could

> cultivate the rich harvest of the understanding - and promote the accumulation of that intellectual wealth which forms the capital of our moral nature? It is through their agency that the reason is prepared to receive and to appreciate the higher impulses of religious obligations. It is thus that our fellow-men, in their social capacities, are made better subjects; and that under the divine blessing they become better Christians also.[63]

---

[61] *Sixteenth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland* (Dublin, 1828), 115-118 (Rules of the Kildare Place Society); Spring Rice to Doyle, n.d. [c.1829], Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

[62] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation*, 27-8.

[63] [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Ministerial Plan of Education - Church and Tory Misrepresentations', *Edinburgh Review*, 70 (Oct 1839), 179.

It followed that there could be no firm distinction between spiritual and general education: the two were inter-related and mutually sustaining. Spring Rice concluded that 'We can teach them in our schools if we cannot teach them in the Churches and the one is the road to the other'.[64]

The Liberal Protestant emphasis on rationality had a spiritual end which was distinct from the kind of Enlightenment rationalism promoted by people like Lord Brougham of the London Mechanics Institution (formed in 1823) and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK, formed in 1826). The belief that rationality and morality went together was the foundation of agreement between Brougham and the more religious Spring Rice, Bourke, and their cohort. Spring Rice was a founder-member of the SDUK, and in the early days at least the society had both religious and non-religious members. However, it was clear that Brougham did not share the Liberal Protestant's piety that led them to place such a high value on religious knowledge. By the time Brougham co-founded the Central Education Society, this disagreement about whether education could be both moral and secular had become unavoidable. Still, during the 1820s at least, there was sufficient basis for alliance between Brougham and Spring Rice in their shared view that rationality and the acquisition of useful knowledge were desirable. Like Spring Rice, Brougham emphasised the creation of good subjects through the inculcation of rationality, and argued that 'The habits of reflexion which are inseparable from reading, are plainly, and we think confessedly, favourable to orderly conduct.'[65] Brougham was not just arguing for education that focused on Bible-reading and habits of industry, he was also arguing for education as a rational endeavour that could fundamentally affect (male) understandings of their own situation, as well as their morality and habits. He argued that:

> You cannot set men a thinking upon general subjects, or subjects which only interest them remotely, as members of a body, without making them also think upon their own situation and immediate interests. To suppose that a working man will occupy himself with the history of former times, or the doctrines of natural or moral science, without being led to reflect upon what is to benefit himself and his family, would be quite absurd. But, if his real happiness, consist in sober and regular habits - and in providing, while he is well, for a day of sickness. Few indeed seem disposed to deny this; and it seems at last to be admitted, that the mere habits of reflection, engendered by reading, will generally reclaim a man

---

[64] Rice to Northampton, 26 June 1834, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 550.

[65] [Henry Brougham], 'Thoughts on Popular Education (Supposed Dangers of Knowledge)', *Edinburgh Review* 43 (Nov. 1825), 244-5.

from idleness and drunkenness.[66]

Mankind was improved not only by the 'provident habits which knowledge begets', but also by the process by which education found 'substitutes for bad pursuits'. Thus 'knowledge begets prudence'.[67] He continued,

> They who learn, take a delight, of course, in learning. They love their book - they are gratified by knowing what others whom they look up to know, and by knowing more than those they live with; but they also love knowledge for its own sake, for the mere gratification of curiosity and intellectual excitement. This becomes their second pursuit, to which they willingly devote all the time not occupied by their necessary business; and this, therefore, estranges them from scenes of idleness and dissipation, which come to lose all relish; or if they retain any taste for such things, it is only as a variety, and of very rare occurrence, to please at all, or even be tolerable.[68]

Furthermore, Brougham agreed that it was rationality that made political independence possible:

> It is the unthinking that are the tools of designing men. ... The diversities of character which education developes [sic.], are quite fatal to such implicit obedience, and such blind co-operation.[69]

Bourke's general curriculum involved subjects closely akin to those encouraged by the SDUK, and were intended to both inculcate practical skills and encourage rationality. These included spelling, reading, writing, 'arithmetick', elementary 'mathematicks', surveying, practical training in agricultural techniques, and this curriculum was extended under the National Schools System. He also suggested raising a subscription fund to provide for apprenticing his graduates to tradesmen, or for outfitting those who would return to agriculture or hire themselves out as daily labourers. However, he was specifically opposed to Godfrey Massy's suggestion that boys should be apprenticed to 'steady Protestants, under the inspection of their parish Minister and three respectable [Protestant] persons' only.[70] The SDUK was a major source for school-books in both Bourke's and Spring Rice's schools, and for the lending libraries that they helped establish.[71] SDUK books were also one of the main sources of

---

[66] *Ibid.*, 244.

[67] *Ibid.*, 244-5.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] 'Athamik, 55, 57, 58; Godfrey Massy, *The Faithful Shepherd: memoir of, with sketches of his times* ed. Dawson Massy (London, 1870, 4th ed. [1855]), 311.

[71] Spring Rice to Doyle, 14 Dec. 1822, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345 re: Spring Rice's

material for the new schoolbooks created by the National Schools Board during the 1830s.[72]

Spring Rice concluded, as early as 1822, that

> The question in Ireland is not whether the people are, or are not, to be educated; that, they have decided for themselves: it is, whether education is to be of a nature to bind them to the laws in virtue and happiness, or whether it is to be such as to render them enemies of social order, morality, and religion.[73]

Similarly, Brougham argued that education among the poor would make working men consider their own best interests rationally, and therefore prevent them from becoming prey to Radical demagogues. Like Spring Rice, he concluded:

> The time is past when the progress of knowledge *could* be prevented. The people must have it; therefore, the question is no longer, whether they shall be taught or not? but whether they shall be well or ill taught - taught matters of a useless, or it may be a pernicious kind, or instructed in those things which convey solid and useful improvement to their minds, and strengthen their understandings, while they help them to better their condition?[74]

The Catholic hierarchy was not uniformly antagonistic to education that involved rationality either, as was demonstrated by Bishop Doyle's comment in 1824 that 'Education draws forth the mind, improves its faculties, encreases its resources, and by exercise strengthens and augments its powers'. He continued,

> Next to the blessing of redemption and the graces consequent upon it, there is no gift bestowed by God equal in value to a good education; other advantages are enjoyed by the body; this belongs entirely to the spirit; whatever is great, or good, or glorious in the works of men, is the fruit of educated minds. ... Religion herself loses half her beauty and influence when not attended or assisted by education; and her power, splendour and majesty are never so exalted, as when cultivated genius and refined taste, become her heralds or her handmaids.[75]

What the Catholic clergy strenuously opposed, though, was any attempt to achieve religious conversion through education. By the early 1820s O'Connell was using clerical dissatisfaction with the proselytising methods of the Kildare Place Society, and the Society's

---

desire to establish a secular lending library in Limerick; *Limerick Grand Jury Presentments*, Summer Assizes 1830, 17-18 (establishment of a lending library for the Limerick County Gaol); 1830 (655) vii. *Third Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland*, Bourke's evidence, 513. R. Herbert (ed.), *Catalogue of the Museum and Reference Library* (Limerick, 1940).

[72] 1859 (148) xxi, part II. *Returns of the titles of books published or sanctioned by the Irish National Board with the authors or editors of each work; returns relating to Education (Ireland).*

[73] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland*, 33.

[74] [Brougham], 'Thoughts on Popular Education', 244-6.

[75] [Doyle], *State of Education*, 9.

refusal to elect new Catholics to its Board, to gain support among the Catholic hierarchy. Increasingly, Catholic priests refused to allow Catholic children to attend Kildare Place Society schools. Yet this never amounted to a total ban because it was clear that such a ban would prevent many Catholic children from receiving any education at all. Doyle recognised that in the absence of sufficient Church funding, the necessary resources and local management for widespread Catholic education had to come from the Protestant gentry or the State. However, he wanted Catholic clerical control over religious and moral teaching at least, because

> those who are esteemed capable of preaching truth and morality to the community at large, must be deemed most fit to regulate the education of children ...If the State undertook to deprive the parent of the religious guardianship of his own offspring, it would violate one of the first and most sacred rights of nature.

His primary concern was to supplant hedge schools which he, too, thought were destabilising. Therefore, provided the priesthood retained the right to catechise Catholic children, and so long as there was no attempt to undermine Catholicism in general, he was prepared to support Spring Rice's education schemes. As he said,

> It behoves, however, the Government of every well conducted society, to provide, as far as may be in its power, for each class of its subjects, as much education and of the best kind, as the latter are capable of receiving with advantage to themselves and security to the public interests.[76]

The Liberal approach to education used Liberal Protestant theological ideas to develop a rhetoric that combined Christian morality with Enlightenment rationality. This provided a rhetoric of unity and a basis for alliance among religious groups which was of great significance in a context where religious conflict and cultural division were central. This made the Liberal Protestant educational vision quite distinct from other Protestant schemes. It was more optimistic about the extent to which Catholics were capable of morality and rationality without conversion, and it presented a Liberal conception of the individual who was capable of growing into a good subject and towards good citizenship. There was no expectation that all individuals were capable of citizenship or that morality, rationality and knowledge were the only criteria - these would be supplemented by, for example, land ownership and economic independence.[77]

Although Catholic Emancipation would remove the barrier from full political participation

---

[76] *Ibid.*, 10.

[77] see Chapter 4.

from the Catholic gentry, this would neither satisfy the demands of the population, nor could these demands be satisfied by enfranchising a Catholic middle class since most people agreed that Ireland lacked a substantial and well-established middle class.[78] The implication of the Liberal schemes of educational and social reform was that such a class could be developed, and its members drawn from the Catholic poor. However, by choosing only those people who satisfied a set of criteria established by the elite, the Radical implications of the O'Connellite mobilisation of the masses could be avoided, and both the direction and degree of political change could be controlled by the elite.

This can be contrasted with the views of High Churchmen like Jebb and Brodrick, who were concerned about the dangers of promoting rational education among an unelevated Catholic population, which they believed would make them less satisfied and stir them to revolt, without producing the religious conversion that was necessary to their social and political development.[79] Jebb's rhetoric closely reflected the theological position which distinguished between spiritual and secular knowledge, and carefully limited the role of rationality in the acquisition of spiritual knowledge (see Chapter 2). His main concern was to provide the Church of Ireland catechism to the Irish population, as and where it could be achieved without risk of revolt, and to supplant the Radical education that Catholic hedge schools were providing. In fact in 1813 he went so far as to distinguish between the spiritual education that was the responsibility of the Church of Ireland clergy, and the general education which he was happy for the gentry to provide and pay for.

> General education is a general concern, and cannot be equitably forwarded at individual expense. Education in the principles of the National faith, is a National object, and therefore claims National support. Plans have been submitted of *generalised* Education; with these the Clergy have manifestly nothing to do; of such plans the fate is to be decided by parliamentary wisdom and discretion.[80]

However, as he told to Brodrick, inter-denominational schooling was

> A none-descript [sic.] monster, far better qualified to promote the cause of democracy and infidelity, than either to afford popular satisfaction, or advance national civilization; a phantom indeed, but of such portentous aspect, as might

---

[78] Although their numbers were growing in urban areas, where they were emerging as an important political group. See Chapter 5.

[79] 'Thoughts on the State of Ireland', n.d., draft, Jebb to Inglis, for transmission to Peel, 16 July 1828, Jebb papers, TCD ms 6395 (original in BL add. mss 40397 f.166).

[80] Jebb to Archbishop Brodrick, 1 Dec. 1813, Brodrick papers, NLI ms 8866(2).

> well alarm every definite religion under Heaven, that has aught of truth to communicate, or of virtue to defend.[81]

The Liberal vision can also be contrasted with the education schemes promoted by the Second Reformation Movement in Limerick and Galway, which also demonstrated their religious assumptions. As Mant told his clergy,

> If we improve our scholars in a practical knowledge of genuine Christianity, we *must* inevitably make them better members of society and of the state, in all their various relations.[82]

The fact that the Reverend Godfrey Massy saw conversion and the Protestant religion as both necessary to morality and productive of peace, was demonstrated by the way he was able to persuade the High Sheriff (the Evangelical Thomas Lloyd) to allow rooms in the courthouse for his school. In so doing, Godfrey Massy had shown Protestants that 'they were acting wisely in establishing in Bruff such a powerful means for the prevention of crime as Christian salvation', and that it was 'Better to build school-rooms for the boy, than cells and gibbets for the man.'[83]

Still, Mant had already made it clear in 1820 that the prevention of agrarian violence could not be the only aim of Christian education.

> The education of the poor then ought in my judgment to be regarded by us as the instrument, not of political, or civil, or merely moral improvement, but of religious improvement: our great and ultimate object in the furtherance of their education should be to establish our poorer brethren in the knowledge, profession, and practice of the Christian religion pure and undefiled. ... That religion we believe to be sound religion, that we believe to be genuine Christianity, which is embodied in the liturgy and articles of our Church. ... It is not then religion, according to any confused and indeterminate notion of it; it is not Christianity, according to the system of this or that individual or sect; but it is the religion of Christ, in its several departments of "doctrine, sacraments, and discipline".[84]

In order to ensure this, Massy visited the school every Wednesday, to hear the teacher examine the week's lessons, and then 'he called all the children around him and inquired into their progress in the Word of GOD, concluding frequently by a catechetical lecture on the portion of Scripture on which he was preparing to preach the following Sunday'.[85] However, education in the catechism alone was not enough. The Evangelical notion of education also

---

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] Mant, *Killaloe Charge* (1820), 38.

[83] Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 205-7.

[84] Mant, *Killaloe Charge*, 38-9.

[85] Massy, *Faithful Shepherd*, 205.

involved protecting children from evil influence (especially that which Evangelicals associated with Catholic home life), producing an awareness of sin, and preventing 'backsliding' by strenuous social control which focused on creating 'habits of industry' and good discipline. When on his weekly visit Massy noticed an untidy child, he addressed himself to the parents, lecturing them on 'cleanliness as akin to godliness', and giving clothing as 'a prize for improvement.' Godfrey Massy identified

> Three things [that] he laboured incessantly to represent as enemies of all improvement, - *an untidy woman, a public-house, and a pawn-office.*[86]

Bourke's opposition to Church control of education was initially based on two elements. First, he wished to maintain control over both the land and the education he provided. Education was the responsibility of the Irish elite, and through it they claimed the right to re-shape society and, subsequently, to prove their legitimacy. Second, the Lord Lieutenant's Fund, which was the main source of funding for the creation of schools, required that the Church of Ireland parish minister have control over the appointment of a schoolmaster, and that this control could only be waived with the permission of the Bishop. Bourke's vocal opposition to his Bishop's proselytising aims and methods in the 1820s through the 'Athamik' pamphlet, ensured that no such waiver could occur (though Bourke went to the extent of formally requesting it).[87] So he had to look elsewhere, to the Kildare Place Society, which provided funding, books, teacher training, and most importantly did not require close ecclesiastical supervision. In Bourke's parish at least, it was possible to satisfy the Kildare Place Society requirement that the Bible be read 'without note or comment', by providing the *Scripture Lessons* set of extracts, though this was the cause of widespread Catholic opposition throughout Ireland to schools funded by the Kildare Place Society.[88] In Castleconnell, priest and Thornfield teachers worked

---

[86] *Ibid.*, 205-7.

[87] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 604.

[88] This was probably William Allen's *Scripture Lessons for schools on the British system for mutual instruction* (London, 1820). Though published for the British and Foreign Scripture Society (BFSS), which believed that all lessons should be conducted using the Bible (or its extracts), this compilation was distributed by the Kildare Place Society. Elizabeth Bourke to Miss Rolleston (Hibernian School Society), 19 Oct. 1823, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21768; 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 604. By 1834 Rev. James Carlile (Commissioner for National Education and ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster) had compiled a set of extracts (the 1st to 4th lesson books) in consultation with Murray, Whately and Thomas Arnold. See 1854 (525), xv. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the practical working of the system of national education in Ireland*, ii.1, 4-6; 1837, (543-I), viii. *Report from the Select*

closely together, and this was encouraged by Bourke and by the fact that he employed Catholic teachers at Thornfield instead of insisting on Protestants as was common in other local schools. The local parish priest focused his Sunday Sermons around the biblical readings that the school used in the following week. In this way the priest could fulfil his duty to provide interpretative guidance, and at the same time there would be no need to oppose the Kildare Place Society policy of uncommented scriptural readings in school.[89]

The Catholic Church generally supported the original and theoretical ideals of the Kildare Place Society which were still being reiterated in 1825:

> To preserve public order, it was necessary to establish those habits of thoughtfulness and foresight, which would enable the poor to add to their comforts, and thereby produce content; - to confirm habits of self-control and rational obedience, and thereby produce good order and subordination; - and by early inculcating the principles of honesty and truth, to prepare the mind to resist those vices to which they are most exposed; and, in particular, to supplant that tendency to drunkenness, which is the dreadful but natural resource of unoccupied minds in the intervals of hard labour.[90]

According to Spring Rice, even in 1825 the Catholic hierarchy did not object to education based on Christian morality, or even to the use of the Bible (especially if the Douay version was used among Catholic children, and if it was not the sole basis for general education). They simply objected to education that taught specifically Church of Ireland doctrine and opposed Catholicism, which they thought could only be intended for conversion purposes.[91] However, by now it was necessary to differentiate Liberal education schemes from the Kildare Place Society, because it was increasingly clear that Kildare Place Society methods had degenerated into proselytism, and had consequently lost Catholic support. The 1825 Commission of Inquiry's failure to obtain agreement between the Catholic and Church of Ireland bishops and the Kildare Place Society made it possible for Thomas Spring Rice to make another attempt at solving the problem of Irish education, and thence to shape what became the National Schools system. In

---

Committee on the new plan of education in Ireland together with the minutes of evidence, (House of Lords), I. For O'Connell and Doyle's campaign against the Kildare Place Society, see J.W. Doyle, *An Essay on Education and the State of Ireland, by an Irish Catholic. with remarks by W.J. Fitzpatrick* (Dublin, 1880), ii, 352 and 1830 (654) vii. *Second Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 426-7.

[89] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 604.

[90] *Schoolmaster's Manual*, 3.

[91] [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Education of the Irish Poor', 197-224.

March 1828, he moved for the appointment of a Select Committee which he chaired and which reported in mid-May.[92]

The Catholic Church's most vocal educational spokesman, Bishop Doyle, co-operated with Spring Rice's attempts to achieve a national State-funded elementary education, provided it did not involve proselytism. He was wholly convinced that rationality, morality, and basic Christianity could be taught in inter-denominational schools as long as the Catholic catechism could be provided and controlled by the clergy, but concluded that it would be folly to attempt to give the poor a completely classical education:

> But as the mind of man, in its unimproved state, is more under the influence of passions than of reason, hence it is necessary whilst it is in training and its energies employed upon itself, that no impressions be made upon it but such as are really calculated to develope [sic.] and exercise its faculties, or to plant in it the principles of religion and the seeds of virtue. It is a paramount duty, that in the instruction of youth, that milk not strong food be given to them; that whatever could introduce error or passion be removed from them; and that their teachers be as intent in forming in them habits of piety and virtue, as in exercising the faculties of their minds.[93]

Moreover, Doyle was happy to support the Liberal Protestant insistence that inter-denominational schooling would help to heal the cultural and political rift between Protestants and Catholics, even though this was not his primary concern:

> I do not see how any man, wishing well to the public peace, and who looks to Ireland as his country, can think that peace can ever be permanently established, or the prosperity of the country ever well secured, if children are separated, at the commencement of life, on account of their religious opinions. I do not know any measure which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting the children at an early age, and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another and to form those little intimacies and friendships which often subsist through life.[94]

The education debates were of central importance in the transformation of a Liberal Protestant theological stance into a wide-ranging social and political vision which focused on the Liberal understanding of the individual as a social and political actor. Education was no longer merely a mechanism to ensure obedience to the State; it was now a mechanism through which the State could involve a disaffected and degraded population in productive social and

---

[92] *Hansard* 2, xviii, 119-24; 1828 (341) iv. *Report from the Select Committee to whom the reports on the subject of Education in Ireland were referred.*

[93] *Ibid.*, 10.

[94] 1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*, 426-7.

economic relations, and could ultimately produce a class of individuals who were capable of citizenship. The school curriculum was defined in ways that supported the development of Christian morality and rationality, and the acquisition of the basic knowledge that these individuals would need in order to become fully functioning members of society and, ultimately, individuals capable of political participation. Citizenship was now seen as capable of being developed, and was based on morality, rationality, and knowledge which could all be acquired and tested on an individual basis. Like religious toleration, education was a fundamental civil liberty, which all members of the society could claim. As Spring Rice argued,

> We do not apprehend that any intention exists in any quarter to render education absolutely penal; but we contend, that it is equally subversive of liberty if a benefit is withheld, as if a positive penalty is imposed. Death is equally produced by denying food as it is by the axe or the gibbet. The deprivation of a good is not only a punishment, but is often the severest of all punishments.[95]

At one level this was a general improving rhetoric with links to economic reform, and so it provided much room for co-operative enterprise with others that were equally concerned with improvement. For example, Bourke, Spring Rice, and Smith O'Brien were all involved in initiatives for mechanics institutes, an agricultural training college, spinning schools, and so on, which continued to attract support from local industrialists, merchants, and clergy.[96] If Liberal education had been concerned with good subjecthood alone, that co-operation in primary school education would have remained as well. The basis for co-operation between Liberal Protestants and the Second Reformation movement was their shared concern with private morality, but the Liberal Protestant refusal to accept proselytism, for both pragmatic and principled reasons, quickly placed limits on their co-operative relationship. Bourke's opposition to Bishop Mant and Church control in general was an important sticking point. However, Liberal education schemes also incorporated a notion that Catholic children could 'grow toward citizenship', and its fundamentals were the basis of Liberal Protestant criteria for citizenship: Christian morality, knowledge and rationality. The assumption was that the morally responsible Christian individual was capable of independent judgement and was protected against

---

[95] [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Ministerial Plan of Education', 173.

[96] For William Smith O'Brien's involvement in setting up the Ennis Mechanics Institute, see *Ennis Chronicle*, 27 May and 24 June 1826; for Spring Rice's and especially Bourke's involvement in proposals for an Agricultural model school and Farm, and an Agricultural College in Limerick, see Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(2). See also Milo Spillane, 'Mungret Agricultural School', *OLJ* 6 (Summer 1981), 26-7.

corruption by knowledge and rationality, and this was a specifically Liberal understanding that worked against both the Second Reformation movement and the High Church aims. This reached its most explicit in combination with the Liberal attitude towards Catholic Emancipation, when Aubrey de Vere argued that England always managed to concede rights

> at once too late and too early; too late for justice or just gratitude, that is to say, for conciliation; too early, if any relation exists between political privileges and that political education which is necessary for their use.[97]

Liberal Protestant education was intended to resolve that conundrum: to teach the Irish people how to live in a cohesive community of interdependent individuals, and at the same time to encourage the qualities that were necessary for full and active citizenship.

This was a thoughtful vision and systematic programme of reform, but there were inherent limitations and blind spots. For example, Bourke specifically exempted girls from his education plan, commenting that

> I doubt whether I would not have the education of females a quite distinct and separate (though not unconnected) department; under the immediate care of a school-mistress; ... with females works [such as needlework and spinning], to form a part of their business, and instruction.[98]

Though he did not think this important enough to discuss, it is clear that the rationality that he emphasised within the boys' school was downplayed within the girls' school at Thornfield, which instead emphasised needlework and spinning, cleanliness, and orderly behaviour.[99] This difference in approach was demonstrated by the similarity this school had with the local spinning schools, its ties with Elizabeth Bourke's poor relief schemes (for example, in the role it played in her poor relief schemes to plait straw hats and knit worsted stockings), and by the fact that the Bourkes frequently referred to it as a 'female factory'.[100] It is likely that Bourke shared the unexamined assumption that if Catholics were basically moral, that this was generally

---

[97] Aubrey de Vere, *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds: four letters from Ireland, addressed to an English member of parliament* (Dublin, 1848), 90.

[98] 'Athamik', 55. 'Female works' including spinning, knitting, and other skills associated with women's work. See letters of Elizabeth Bourke re: Thornfield's girls' school, Bourke papers, NLI mss 21768 and 8474(2).

[99] 'Regulations for Work School at Thornfield', Bourke papers, NLI ms 8474(2).

[100] Elizabeth Bourke to Miss Holmes, 15 Feb. 1823 (draft) and Elizabeth Bourke to Capt. Duckworth, 9 July 1823, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21768; open letters: Jebb to Committee of the London Society for the Relief of Irish Distress, 26 July 1822 and 2 Sept. 1822, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(7).

taught at the mother's knee and could be supplemented by schooling and rationality, and that the two kinds of morality were not contradictory. It may also have been assumed that rationality could not be taught to very young children, and that female superstition would recede under the husband's tutelage. Elizabeth Bourke was active in the improvement societies that were dominated by English (and some Irish) Evangelicals, and like them she believed that morality among the female poor could be improved through poor relief schemes which emphasised cleanliness and so on, and through the encouragement of moral habits in the school or female factory.[101] These assumptions about female education were not shared by everyone in the area, since the local Quaker Schools gave girls a classical education (though the children attending these schools could not be classified as uniformly middle class or gentry).[102] However, it would not be reasonable to conclude that Limerick Liberals saw rational education as wholly inappropriate for women, since Liberal prison reform emphasised the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic to women inmates, and also provided access to the lending library which was composed as much of material for intellectual as for moral improvement.[103] Certainly the rationality gained in a classical education was deemed appropriate for gentry women, as demonstrated by Major Ryan's supervision of Anne Bourke's reading program.[104]

Despite these inconsistencies, Liberal Protestant concern with rationality was not merely a convenient fiction. While rationality was considered to contribute to improved subjecthood and was considered essential for the development of citizenship, most people in this period saw citizenship as exclusively male. Secondly, it was important for Bourke and Spring Rice to avoid alienating their allies (and funding sources) by overemphasising rationality in public, when it was clear that it would be a long time before citizenship could become a realistic possibility for their charges. The extent to which rationality could be encouraged had to be tailored to the

---

[101] Elizabeth Bourke to Barnwell (draft), 21 Nov. 1823, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8474(3); Committee book of the Ladies Association for the relief of the distressed female peasantry in the United Parishes of Castleconnell and Killinagriff 1823-4, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8474(1); 'Regulations for Work School at Thornfield', Bourke papers, NLI ms 8474(2).

[102] Monthly Meeting Books, Society of Friends, Limerick (in possession of John Grubb, Limerick).

[103] *Limerick Grand Jury Presentments,* Summer Assizes 1830, 17-18.

[104] Forster to Jebb, 23 Feb. 1821, Jebb papers, TCD ms 6396-7/125; diary fragment of Elizabeth Bourke, Bourke papers (private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke).

capacity of the students, whose general standard would slowly improve as civilisation progressed. Liberalism focused on the attempt to 'grow' a morally and politically responsible middle class from among the Catholic poor, who would attain citizenship when and if they gained that capacity; it did not involve democracy or manhood suffrage. Liberal Catholics like Bishop Doyle assumed that knowledge and reason would always be unevenly diffused. It was as much the function of education to sift the chaff from the grain, as it was to encourage a general development in rational capacity. As he put it,

> I consider it therefore of inestimable value; but like gold, which is the instrument of human happiness, it is, and always must be unequally distributed amongst men. Some will always be unable or unwilling to acquire it, others will expend it prodigally, or pervert it to the worst ends, whilst the bulk of mankind will always be more or less excluded from its possession.[105]

Doyle (and probably Spring Rice as well) was much more aristocratic in his outlook than was Bourke, who seems to have been willing to consider the possibility that a larger (though still undefined) proportion of the population might eventually develop the capacity for rationality and eventual citizenship. In the short term this difference in degree was irrelevant, because everyone agreed that the Catholic Irish poor would remain ill-equipped for full citizenship in the short term. What was important here was the Liberal Protestant and Liberal Catholic agreement that Catholicism alone was an unreasonable basis on which to assume either irrationality or exclusion from citizenship.

By 1831 there was a general consensus that education was an important tool of social control. However, the 1831 plan was not the result of a general consensus on the purpose of education or how it should be conducted. It was, instead, the result of a series of negotiations during the 1820s in which religious debates (in the widest sense explored in Chapter 2) were fundamental because of the general agreement that education must involve morality (which in turn was believed to be derived from religion), and because of the growing controversy on the role of schools in proselytism. The Fourteenth Report on Education, which had been signed by Archbishop Brodrick, had resulted in a more central role in Irish education for the Kildare Place Society, whose principles were inter-denominational. In the post-Union lull the Church of Ireland was confident that Revolution had been averted, that absorption of the Catholic Church

---

[105] [Doyle], *State of Education,* 9-10.

was a realistic possibility, and that moral education was possible, useful and part of a British civilising mission. However, as Jebb made clear, this was a begrudging concession in order to displace the hedge schools:

> What ... is the grand source of difficulty? The fourteenth report. Why did that report pass the board of Education? Because the clerical members of the board wished to avoid a worse evil. Had they made a firmer stand, Mr Peele and the Church, could now fight their battle on far easier terms.[106]

By as early as 1815 this confidence was being eroded, as was being replaced by a defensive impulse. Jebb concluded that 'I think that there never perhaps was a period when the guardians of the Church required a more vigilant circumspection - lest in striving to prevent the coming of uncertain evils - they may give the adversary a footing which would be in itself the foundation and the fore-runner of incalculable mischief.'[107]

The Liberal Protestant belief in the Catholic capacity for morality and citizenship without conversion meant that their educational ideas formed a viable basis for alliance. Spring Rice's 1828 proposals went beyond those of 1825 by creating mechanisms to ensure that the practice would not come to contradict the stated ideals (as they had done in the Kildare Place Society). These mechanisms would involve increased State support and supervision through an inter-denominational board (whose composition would now be regulated by the State), the creation and distribution of non-denominational texts, issue of both versions of the Bible, and by providing more emphasis on rationality (both for useful knowledge and to aid in basic Christianity and morality). Thus it was now possible to break the deadlock between the Catholic and Church of Ireland hierarchies (however temporarily), and to establish a plan of State-funded inter-denominational education. Spring Rice told Doyle that 'The Roman Catholic prelates in adopting as they did last year the principles of my report have in fact relieved the subject from many of its difficulties.'[108] Even though Spring Rice was at first unsuccessful in getting his proposals implemented, the final 1831 bill embodied these proposals, and Spring Rice had legitimate grounds for claiming that the Irish National School System was his.[109]

---

[106] Jebb to Brodrick, 12 Mar. 1814, Brodrick papers, NLI ms 8866(2).

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

[109] Spring Rice to Doyle, n.d. [c.1829]; Spring Rice to Lord Northampton, 14 Mar. 1836, Monteagle papers, NLI mss 13345 and 553, respectively.

Akenson has shown that Wyse's role in drafting the Bill was peripheral, since his submission simply reiterated Spring Rice's 1828 proposals and seems to have been ignored by Stanley in any case.[110] However, Wyse did play a significant role in demonstrating that the bill could potentially receive the support of Liberal Catholics and middle class Repealers. Stanley was aware of this need, and was also aware that the composition of the Board would be of crucial importance in gaining the support of all the major churches. As he told the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Anglesey:

> This will be a task of some delicacy. I propose, however, if you approve, to make them a board of seven of whom three to be established church, two catholics, and two protestant dissenters; this will, I think, be a fair distribution. The names which have occurred to me are Dr Whately and Dr Sadleir (if they will accept) to whom we must add some liberal layman of the Church of England; for the catholics, Dr Murray and some layman. For the dissenters only one has occurred to me; I believe Mr Holmes, the barrister, if he will take the office would be unexceptionable; I am afraid [name deleted] would not join as he disapproves the plan ...'[111]

Lord Anglesey (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) effectively proposed Whately as the Board's practical leader; the Duke of Leinster was to be President, on the basis that he was unlikely to attend frequently and would therefore attract little opposition, but that his name would be useful in gaining patronage and in preventing the development of opposition toward a Board headed by Whately.[112]

So by 1831 it seemed that Spring Rice had achieved an alliance between divergent groups among the Irish gentry. Though never entirely stable or undisputed, he had achieved a broad agreement about the basis upon which a National Schools system should be conducted (or at least on what was politically achievable). The 1831 bill was the result of the previous decade's negotiations, but in the end reflected the Liberal Protestant perspective much more closely than the other perspectives that existed during the 1820s. The capacity of the Liberal

---

[110] Despite Wyse's claims, he was clearly not the author of the Stanley 1831 bill, and in fact his submission to Stanley merely rehashed Spring Rice's 1828 recommendations. Akenson concluded that Stanley ignored the Wyse submission in any case. Akenson, *Irish Education*, 113-16. See also Chapter 7.

[111] Lord Stanley to Lord Anglesey, 20 Oct. 1831, quoted in 1834 (572) lx. *Report from the Select Committee on the State of Education*, 449-50. The distribution was 'fair' only in so far as it gave some say to non-Anglicans, but it clearly maintained Anglican proportional over-representation and overall Protestant dominance.

[112] Lord Anglesey to Lord Stanley, 2 Nov. 1831 (copy), Anglesey papers, PRONI T1068-17.

Protestant vision to act as a basis for alliance during the 1820s and the particular role of Spring Rice in mediating between all the parties in London and Ireland, were thus crucial to the shape of the 1831 plan. Stanley was incapable of performing this role in England, much less Ireland where he was a relatively new but extremely divisive figure. This is reason enough to question his role as the architect of the scheme.

The common historical assumption has been that the National Schools system flowed from English educational thinking, and was tried out in Ireland, and then ultimately rejected in England because of denominational disputes between Anglicans and Dissenters.[113] This analysis has shown that such an explanation is deeply flawed. The National Schools system was an Irish system, developed by an Irish elite in the circumstances of the religious debates during the 1820s in Ireland, and Irish social circumstances. This was not an English initiative which was tested in Ireland. The need to pass legislation in the Westminster Parliament meant that the Irish designers of the system had to convince English politicians, and this affected the result.[114] However, the details were worked out and tried in Ireland during the early 1820s in the gentry-run schools in Limerick (and elsewhere in Ireland as well), and were clearly shaped by Irish politicians and social reformers like Bourke and Spring Rice.

Fundamental to this Irish Liberal vision was a rhetoric of universalism and unity which was borne of the desire to solve Irish problems (not English ones), but which was relevant to a more broadly based British context. During the 1820s and 1830s, Bourke, Spring Rice, de Vere, and O'Brien all sought to resolve the fundamental divisions in Irish society and to create, in their place, an organic community and a political structure that drew the support of all social groups.[115] 'The obliteration of all religious distinctions' was a central plank in this vision involving Catholic Emancipation, inter-denominational education, an impartial legal system, and so on. Bourke concluded,

---

[113] Denis G. Paz, *The Politics of Working-Class Education in Britain, 1830-50* (Manchester, 1980), 25 and *passim.*

[114] The best English account of this process is Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion, and Reform 1830-1841* (Cambridge, 1987), 220-8. However, he was not well attuned to the Irish contribution to this process, and instead emphasises the role of English reformers.

[115] While the other Limerick Liberals continued in these aims, O'Brien began to change in the 1840s. See Chapter 5.

> Let us forget that Protestant and Roman Catholick are different branches; in order that we may better, and more to our benefit, remember that the tree is Christian; and that we spring from a common root.[116]

As Spring Rice put it,

> The fatal policy of disuniting the people of Ireland, and of rousing sectarian animosities, has produced effects which a conciliatory spirit, and the knitting together of all classes in the performance of their social duties, can alone efface.[117]

This was not merely a dream that bore little relationship to the reality of their interests: Irish Liberals characteristically proposed a whole range of reforms that were intended to have dramatic social and political effects, and in this sense they assumed the need for far-reaching change. However, their vision was not Radical in any sense. They did not seek to restructure society or the political or economic systems along radical lines; they were not willing to consider substantial land reform, nor did they seek to press the claims of the working class.

Instead, Liberal Protestant rhetoric sought to re-shape social and political relations using Christian morality as a basis, and envisioned a revitalised hierarchical social structure in which everyone contributed to an organic, inter-dependent community. This was in no sense a rhetoric of conflict, either of class, religion or culture. It was an attempt to break down antagonisms without democratising Irish society. Yet, even though it was fundamentally anti-Radical in intent, the individual focus of the ideology admitted the desirability of far-reaching institutional change.[118] It used legal and political economy understandings of the individual to reinforce a notion which was at its core religious and moral and this itself imposed much more stringent limitations than the language of rights. There is no doubt that a focus on local conditions and on the individual made a difficult problem potentially more manageable, but in

---

[116] 'Athamik', 38.

[117] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland,* 17-18.

[118] This was quite different from the Whig moralist and moderate (political economist) factions that Peter Gray identified in relation to 1840s Whig views of the Famine, see Chapter 4 above. Peter Gray, 'British Politics and the Ireland Question, 1843-1850' (PhD, Cambridge, 1992), 12-19. He specifically rejected Richard Brent's belief that religious beliefs were an important tie between Liberals including Spring Rice and Russell, and characterises them as moderate or secular Whigs with a strong belief in political economy. Unfortunately he equates Christians who were concerned with rationality as secular, in opposition to Evangelical Christians. See also Peter Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals 1830-1852* (Oxford, 1990), 6-8, who emphasises Foxite, moderate, and moralist strands within a vigorous Whig movement in the 1830s to 50s period.

this case the emphasis on individual moral responsibility did not produce emphases on negative moral judgement or on conversion, as it did for Evangelicals, but instead provided the rationale for gradual change. This dedication to reform, combined with the rejection of Radicalism, was entirely at one with British Whiggery as enshrined in Whig proposals for parliamentary reform, and it was also entirely consistent with developing Liberal thought in Britain (see Chapter 7).

The debates on education are a good example of how the Liberal Protestant religious thought, developed during the 1820s, was used as the basis of a Liberal critique of Irish society and of an attempt to solve the problem as perceived by this Irish elite group. The Irish National Schools system, which was shaped by the Liberals more than any other group, represented a statement that a unified Irish society must find a common Christian basis that allowed some movement away from the notion that Irish society was fundamentally and irretrievably divided along denominational lines. In this sense it was a direct result of the 1820s religious controversy and the development of Liberal theology which sought to resolve this division. Through education, the Liberals sought to create a unified and religiously plural society within a broadly Christian State, and to create a moral, loyal, and rational populace that was capable of developing the capacity for citizenship without the need for conversion.

This debate was also about who could claim the right of interpreting what was wrong with Irish society, how that problem should be solved, and what role the Churches and the State should play. The 1820s demonstrated the divisive nature and broader significance of religious debate in Irish society, and the animosity generated over accusations of proselytism also demonstrated that education was perceived by most people as an important tool in the various plans for influencing the moral and religious character of Irish society. According to the Liberals, this meant that a unified society could not be developed as long as control over education remained with the Churches. In fact, control by the Catholic Church would actively exclude the elite (which was overwhelmingly Protestant) and would undercut their right to influence the development of Irish society. Thus the Irish National Schools system was a way of claiming the right of a legitimate and morally responsible elite to lead, and of demonstrating how the British State could be used to support their claims to leadership and also potentially provide a way of resolving religious conflict. These education schemes put the Irish elite in the

role of gatekeepers, in the sense that it was this reformed elite who would decide what should be taught and why, and who would decide what were the essential criteria of citizenship. Therefore, this was not an example of an English colonising elite applying English values to the Irish, but instead represented an Irish elite trying to impose their values on the populace. In the course of re-shaping these Irish elite values they did use some English ideas, but they used them selectively and for Irish purposes.

CHAPTER 4

RE-SHAPING SOCIAL RELATIONS

Elite ideology, whether Liberal, Radical, or Conservative, was not created in a vacuum. It was contingent upon a general perception among the Irish elite of their role within Ireland under the Union, and upon a specific set of historical circumstances. The 1798 Rebellion had proved that the elite's leadership was no longer secure, and during the first half the nineteenth century the Ascendancy tried to re-establish their leadership within Irish society. The establishment of the Union placed Ireland within the British State and allowed the Irish elite to draw support for their position in Ireland from that State. However, the Union also produced a situation in which the Irish elite had to simultaneously protect themselves against the increasing intrusion of the British State on the one hand, and on the other against the growing pressure from below represented by increasing agrarian violence and the rise of Catholic Nationalism. Despite the existence of this shared set of general circumstances, the nineteenth-century Irish elite was not monolithic. Instead, different groups within that elite developed different ways of dealing with the central problem of how they could re-establish their leadership. In the process, they developed different ways of seeking legitimacy and of defining themselves. This chapter examines the Liberal approach to the problem of re-establishing elite leadership. It shows how the Liberal religious ideas discussed in the Chapter 2 were transformed into a Liberal ideology among a particular elite group in Limerick, how the Irish Liberal elite tried to adapt to the new circumstances of the Union by attempting to re-invent themselves as a legitimate Christian elite, and how they tried to re-shape Irish society.

Limerick Liberals believed that Irish society was unstable because it was dominated by binary divisions (between Catholic and Protestant, elite and peasants, Tories and Radicals) that prevented social and political cohesion. They also believed that the Irish population had received inadequate leadership from a corrupt and illegitimate aristocracy, which had consequently lost widespread support. Their solution was to adapt to new circumstances by reforming the existing elite from within, and to attempt re-inventing themselves as the legitimate leaders of Irish society. They developed a programme of elite-led institutional and individual reforms that were intended to teach both the populace and the elite to behave

responsibly, and to re-integrate excluded groups into the body politic. This reform would allow the elite to regain popular support because it allowed them to prove that they were responsive to popular grievances. They could then show that they were the only group capable of producing the changes demanded by the populace. The Liberal programme was not Radical. Instead it sought to reinvigorate an existing social and political system, without risking its overthrow. However, it was not a defence of the status quo either. This reinvigoration involved substantial and far-reaching change that brought into question some of the Ascendancy's most cherished assumptions. The most obvious challenge to existing elite assumptions was the Liberal belief that a stake in political power could be safely granted to Catholics and that, done in the right way, this would lead to a confirmation of elite power rather than the destruction of the existing elite and the eventual disintegration of Irish society. This was an attempt to re-invent themselves as a responsive group of leaders. They would prove both their legitimacy and their Irishness by proving themselves virtuous and capable.[1] This involved collaboration with the British State, but always with the aim of achieving Irish goals. Ultimately, though, their claims to leadership were not based on Protestantism. They were instead based on this group's ability to achieve reform within a broadly Christian model.

The first section of this chapter looks at how this elite attempted to deal with agrarian protest and how they attempted to re-legitimise the rule of law. They argued that agrarian violence was the understandable response of a populace that had been betrayed by the failure of the elite to act responsibly, and by the failure of the Union to deliver promised reforms. They argued that the way to deal with this 'unrest' was to control it firmly through the rule of law in the short term, but at the same time to address the underlying problems that had produced it. Most importantly, they argued that agrarian violence demonstrated divisions between the elite and the peasantry, but that it was not Catholic versus Protestant, nor Irish versus English. This assertion, combined with the rule of law, was an essential basis for their attempt to claim the right to lead Irish society.

The second section of the chapter looks at the role of political economy in the Liberal vision of reform. Liberal poor relief and agricultural schemes were not simply aimed at keeping

---

[1] For the question of identity, see Chapter 6.

the poor in their place, but were instead aimed at reinforcing the moral reformation of the 'peasants' that had begun in the schools, and at the same time were intended to awaken the elite to their own moral and social responsibilities. Liberal economic reforms were aimed at creating a middle class of responsible and competitive individuals, which would help to break down the existing binary opposition between elite and populace.

The final section assesses the Liberal critique of aristocracy, and the role that Liberal conceptions of virtue had in their attempts to establish legitimacy.

I. 'The Peasants': Agrarian Violence and the Rule of Law

Liberal Protestant schemes for social, economic, and political reform were suffused with a belief in an organic, hierarchical social structure, but this did not imply a refusal to accept change to the existing social and economic structure. The assumption of social hierarchy was an essential factor in the Liberal vision because it was necessary to the maintenance of Ascendancy interests, and to their way of life and sense of identity. There is no doubt that they believed Irish society as it then stood was dysfunctional, but they blamed this on English misrule to a much greater extent than on the characteristics of the Irish themselves. Instead of perpetuating that dysfunctional society, they sought to change it in important but limited ways, by encouraging the development of a new, 'intelligent' and moral middle class, by encouraging the development of a legitimate and moral elite, by encouraging reforms that would regain the support of both the 'peasants' and this new middle class, and by eradicating religion as the most important social and political divider in Irish society. Their notion of what had to be done was shaped by their perception of the Irish context, and according to constraints imposed by their need to deal with other Irish groups as well as with the British State. They continued to see themselves as Irish and to place themselves within the Irish context, but they also sought a solution that fitted within an over-arching British model, that was both British and Irish but not English. The Liberal programme was pragmatic to the extent that it was an attempt to use the tools of the British State in order to establish legitimate elite rule within Ireland, and to negotiate a role for the elite that had the best of both Irish and British worlds.

The nature of agrarian unrest, and its status as a well-developed Nationalist political movement, is an issue that is still under discussion. It is by no means clear that there was a

systematic link between this critique of the Ascendancy and a refusal to accept them as Irish, or that this was a well-shaped attempt to gain Irish independence (as opposed to a form of Home Rule). Even where Irish independence was demanded it is by no means clear that the intention was to eradicate the elite. Certainly there was a link between Catholicism and Irish identity at the level of participants in agrarian protest. However, it should not necessarily be concluded that this excluded all Protestants, nor that an exclusive Catholic vision of Irish identity was shared by all Catholics. There was sustained opposition to agrarian protest by the Catholic hierarchy, and also a willingness to target both Catholic landholders and Protestants. It *is* appropriate to view Catholic agrarian secret societies as involving some elements of a self-conscious Irish identity and an opposition to economic modernisation (especially as regards land holding and the rural economy), and in some cases their demands for Catholic relief and Independence were consciously linked with the Defender tradition.[2] Certainly there was a sectarian element which involved a clash between Catholic protesters and Protestant gentry landholders (see Chapter 2).

The legitimacy of the elite and also their Irishness *were* being questioned, but this was part of a continuing contest that was not conclusively won or lost in the pre-Famine period, one which was much more complicated than we are apt to assume. It is clear that the Ascendancy were divided on how to view agrarian violence, and that this was not just a case of dissolving under pressure, but that it genuinely reflected their disagreement about how to perceive Irish society and how they should act to consolidate their power. The Liberal Protestant response was quite different from the 'Tory' response: agrarian violence was for them a predictable protest against inadequate leadership, economic change, and the experience of religious exclusion. However, it did not represent a concerted attempt to abolish the power of the Irish elite, or a denial of the elite's essential Irishness. For this reason, it was inappropriate to use permanent coercion to replace the legitimate rule of [British] law. Irish Liberals decried the fact that coercion had become normal in Ireland, and was being used as a substitute for the resolution of Irish grievances. Instead, the focus should be on reforming landlord-tenant

---

[2] M.R. Beames, *Peasants and Power: the Whiteboy movements and their control in pre-Famine Ireland* (Brighton, 1983); T. Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981); [Thomas Moore], *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the celebrated Irish chieftain. with some account of his ancestors. written by himself* (Paris, 1824).

relationships and land law (which would force landlords to act in a morally responsible way toward their tenants, and in so doing earn their support), and also on the re-introduction of manufactures and the modernisation of agriculture (which would gradually resolve the underlying economic problems of unemployment, underemployment, and evictions, that had produced this protest).[3]

Between 1815 and the 1830s there were challenges to the legitimacy of the Ascendancy in the form of agrarian violence. The 1798 rebellion was still fresh in the minds of all Irishmen, and in the 1820s Limerick was the scene of Rockite uprisings: landlords barricaded themselves in their houses at night, nearly all carried firearms, and Godfrey Massy was not alone in feeling the need to replace his Catholic servant with a Protestant, 'to keep garrison.'[4] In these circumstances, it was impossible to avoid action of some kind, and many responded by turning to the British State for military aid in reinforcing their claim for control. In response, the British Parliament passed or renewed a total of thirty-five coercion acts between the Union and the Famine, most of which were aimed at suppressing agrarian violence; Ireland was ruled under ordinary law for only five years in the first half of the nineteenth century.[5]

There was substantial disagreement at the time about whether agrarian violence in Limerick was linked with Ribbonism, which was deemed revolutionary, or whether it represented isolated acts of protest. According to Rev. John Jebb (supported by his brother Richard Jebb, who was a Judge on the Munster circuit) agrarian violence in Tipperary was linked with Ribbonism, and though Limerick was not yet contaminated, it was in danger of succumbing. As John Jebb told Archbishop Brodrick (when called to account for his actions in holding a public meeting in the Church of Ireland parish church, in concert with Father Costello the local Catholic priest),

> this parish, is free from the contagion which surrounds it on every side. ... [But] this

---

[3] T. Sheahan, *'Articles' of Irish Manufacture; or, Portions of Cork History* (Cork, 1833).

[4] Godfrey Massy to Dawson Massy, 5 Nov. 1829, quoted in Godfrey Massy, *The Faithful Shepherd: memoir of, with sketches of his times* ed. Dawson Massy (London, 1870, 4th ed. [1855]), 137-8.

[5] See, for example, the many elite requests for further military and police support. NAI SOC. See also Samuel Clark, *Social Origins of the Irish Land War* (Princeton, 1979), 66-7; Virginia Crossman, 'Emergency legislation and agrarian disorder in Ireland, 1821-41', *IHS* 27:108 (Nov. 1991), 309.

> parish is of the [greatest] importance as a key-position, cutting off the communication between the disturbed districts of Limerick, and the mountain-district of Tipperary. Had the contagion spread among us, and, from us, to that mountain-district, the consequences might have been fatal; no less, too probably, than a general insurrection, extending, perhaps, throughout the South of Ireland. I understood at the time, what was subsequently confirmed by a letter from my brother, that, in the highest quarters, apprehensions were entertained, not only for the South, but for the Metropolis, and for Ireland at large.[6]

On the other hand, Spring Rice, Bourke, and other Liberals, resisted all those who saw agrarian violence in County Limerick as representative of revolutionary activity. Instead, they stressed the practical difficulties suffered by the poor, and their legitimate and unresolved grievances, particularly their awareness of religious exclusion. For example, when Joseph Massy (who was a Quaker friend of the Bourke and Spring Rice families) was called upon to report to Dublin Castle on the disturbed state of the country in his neighbourhood, he attributed it entirely to the

> deplorable state for the want of food among the lower class and the failure of the Potatoe Crop last season has left them without their usual resource, and the want of employment now leaves them without the means of purchasing oatmeal at its present high price.[7]

In 1820 the Grand Jury requested that the whole of County Limerick be placed under the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act and that extra 'special' police be stationed there.[8] However, Bourke, Spring Rice, de Vere, O'Brien, and others like them refused to see coercion as a moral or effective long-term solution, especially when they concluded that the Irish poor had overwhelming and legitimate grievances. Spring Rice argued that coercion had simply not worked:

> During the last six years, constant complaints of disturbance have been made, and acts of outrage committed, in various parts of Ireland. ... The destruction of all foreign influence [in Ireland] has produced no attachment to England; neither has the general peace of the world given to Ireland any internal repose.[9]

He argued that the government figures suggesting a drastic increase in protest-related crime, as against normal crime, were over-stated. He concluded that

> ... force and pressure will always produce a temporary calm; ... but the more

---

[6] John Jebb (later Bishop of Limerick) to Brodrick, 26 Dec. 1821, Brodrick papers, NLI ms 8866(8).

[7] 'Precis of Reports made to Government respecting disturbances at Limerick', enclosure no.3: Thomas Hall to Sir Edward Baker, Erina, Castleconnell, 8 June 1817, NAI, SOC 1817/1836/16.

[8] *Grand Jury Presentments for the Co. of Limerick,* 1820.

[9] [Thomas Spring Rice], *Considerations on the Present State of Ireland, and on the best means of improving the condition of its inhabitants. by an Irishman* (London, 1822), 16.

> Liberal and enlightened legislator will endeavour to remove the causes of irritation, by which alone any permanent tranquillity can be secured.[10]

In 1822, when it was again agreed in Westminster that coercive legislation could not be avoided, the Liberal Irish Attorney-General William Conyngham Plunket argued that this should be a supplement to the normal rule of law rather than a replacement for it. For this reason, as many offences as possible should be tried by the ordinary courts, rather than by tribunals of magistrates.[11] Bourke, too, argued that Ireland in the early 1820s was 'distinguished from other countries by her innocence; not her guilt.' Though 'some rare crimes of an insurrectionary kind' were committed and must be punished, 'it would be better, by improving our situation, to prevent' them.[12]

For these reasons, Bourke, Spring Rice, and Matthew Barrington consistently supported severe punishment under the normal rule of law, rather than coercive legislation. For example, Bourke and Spring Rice both voted against the Limerick County Grand Jury's resolution in 1820, which requested additional troops to combat agrarian violence, and they refused to sign it. Instead, Bourke organised a 'Memorial' in his own district, between Castleconnell and Murroe, which stated that coercion was unnecessary, and that tranquillity could be achieved by other methods. It was signed by local landholders (mostly friends, relatives and tenants), by Fr. Costello and the Rev. Charles Forster, and by all six local magistrates. The 'Memorial' was accompanied by a covering letter from the High Sheriff, Lord Dunraven, who declined to support it on the grounds that it went against the Grand Jury's previous request.[13] The Rev. John Jebb also declined to support Bourke's 'Memorial', having already tried to get extra troops for the area to prevent the insurrection spreading. As he told Major Woodward:

> You must be well aware that Prevention is easier and safer than the putting down of actual insurrection; and you know enough of this district to tell you that it forms the key-position between the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, the mountain

---

[10] *Ibid.*, 21.

[11] Crossman, 'Emergency legislation', 314.

[12] [Richard Bourke], 'Athamik', *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora* (Dublin, 1820), 9.

[13] Memorial from the Landowners and Landholders of the contiguous Baronies of Owneybegg, Coonagh, and Clanwilliam to Lord Talbot, 22 April 1820, NAI, SOC 1820/2185/11 (requesting that they be exempted from the Peace Preservation Act); covering letter by William Wyndham Quin (Lord Dunraven, High Sheriff of Limerick) to William Gregory (Irish Under-Secretary), 25 April 1820, and reply denying request.

> district of the latter, particularly favourable to [the Rockites'] operation ... Probably the military should be stationed in places which are now without any. It is not impossible, the greatest danger now exists, in the parts of this county apparently most tranquil.[14]

Irish Liberals knew that military intervention could not produce permanent peace; but they also knew that a 'placebo' reform would not prevent bloodshed, or achieve the kind of unity that was necessary to gain the support of the Irish population. Even so, although they were loathe to turn to coercion because of its violation of civil liberties, in extremity they were willing to support it on the condition that coercion was accompanied by sweeping reforms that would guarantee those liberties in future. They aimed at recasting social relations at all levels of society and injecting the whole range of social and political life with morality and rationality, both at individual and institutional levels.[15]

This vision remained non-Radical in every way, but their recognition of the Catholic capacity for morality, rationality, and economic independence led them to try to 'grow' good subjects and eventually good citizens through a variety of means including education, treatment of prisoners and lunatics, poor relief, treatment of 'unrest', the development of a larger middle class, and the development of a money-based economy with independent competitive labourers. That this was Liberal is demonstrated by their emphasis on Christian morality, rationality, and economic independence as criteria for judging the divide between subjecthood and citizenship. This shift toward individual capacity was also a fundamental plank of that version of Liberalism that was based on the language of natural rights (see Chapter 5). However, the appropriation of rights language by the Repeal movement (and its recent use by Presbyterian Radicals in the 1780s and 90s),[16] meant that this was largely unavailable to Protestant Unionists. They needed a different way of thinking about the concept of the individual.

---

[14] Jebb to Major Woodward, 17 Nov. 1821; and reply Woodward to Jebb, 19 Nov. 1821, NAI, Outrage papers, carton 431, no.2269(39).

[15] Though their power to achieve this was limited, and consequently the poor bore nearly the whole brunt of their reforming zeal, as shown below.

[16] Oliver MacDonagh, 'Ideas and Institutions, 1830-45' in *NHI* v. 197-8; Ian McBride, 'The school of virtue: Francis Hutcheson, Irish Presbyterians and the Scottish Enlightenment' in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* (London and New York, 1993), 73-99.

In general, then, Liberal Protestants fervently opposed any Ascendancy response that treated agrarian violence as if it were a unified and powerful challenge to the elite as a whole, or represented a binary division between Protestants and Catholics, or between Irish ruled and non-Irish rulers. In one sense this was pragmatic: the best way to undermine Captain Rock was to persuade his followers that they were interpreting the situation wrongly, and that reasonable negotiation and reform would achieve their practical goals. However, historians also need to acknowledge that this kind of response reflected the way Liberal Protestants saw Irish society, and their general view of how its problems (and their own) could be resolved. Their response was as much tied to their ideology as it was to the interests that they shared with other members of the elite.

It is true that when push came to shove Liberal Protestants were willing stand together with the more trenchant members of the Ascendancy, in order to protect themselves. However, this only occurred in extreme circumstances and for short periods of time. At all other times the most vitriolic and politically effective opposition that Irish Evangelicals and Conservatives faced came from Liberal Protestants, who systematically tried to undermine any Ascendancy attempt to crush opposition arbitrarily or to treat it as if it were based on sectarianism. Instead, Liberal Protestants insisted that reactions to agrarian violence should be firm but fair (and that they had the right to determine what was fair, using the law). They asserted the elite's right to lead, but at the same time insisted that the elite had to prove their legitimacy by being responsive to grievances and by pursuing legitimate reform. They used their capacity to make political alliances with Catholics, middle class groups, and minor gentry and professionals. They also systematically used whatever influence they were able to exert in Westminster and Dublin Castle, in order to pursue that reform and to oppose the coercion that Irish Conservatives preferred.[17] In many ways the Liberal approach was unrealistic, especially because their influence was never sufficient to achieve their goals even when the Whigs were in power, and by the 1840s many Liberal Protestants were beginning to despair. Even so, historians need to understand the role played by Irish Liberals in order to understand the kinds of political, economic and social negotiations and confrontations that occurred at the local level.

---

[17] See Chapter 5.

II. The Middle Class and Political Economy

In trying to re-shape social relations, Irish Liberals also sought to shape the class structure in Ireland into one that they believed would have developed without the stultifying effects of the penal laws. Bourke merely stated that 'the absence of a respectable middle class is much felt.'[18] Spring Rice explained this view in much greater detail:

> The want of an intermediate class of yeomanry, and of resident gentry, may we conceive be traced to the catholic laws. Prohibited as the catholics were from acquiring property in land, in a country where the mass of the population belonged to that sect, no yeomanry could exist. ... The growth of a catholic gentry was impeded by the same causes. ... the numbers of such men would have been augmented a thousand fold, if they had been freed from the restraints of cruel and unjust laws. The chasm which at present exists in Irish society would then have been filled up, and we should not, as at present, have to lament the want of that useful order of the community, the depository of the greatest human virtue and human happiness[19]

By 1848 de Vere succinctly expressed the advantages of developing a morally responsible and economically independent middle class of owner-occupiers:

> A class of small proprietors would confer upon this country very great advantages, not only of an economical, but of a moral and political character. It would, in the first place, add to the security of property, by widening the basis on which it rests. It would give the poor a deeper stake in the stability of all our institutions. It would break that hard line of demarcation which at present separates classes, and make it no longer coincident with that which distinguishes orders and races. Above all, by extending privileges and with them responsibilities and duties, it would help to stamp upon the minds of the people that great idea of law, without which men may be subjects, but can hardly be citizens likewise.[20]

Bourke concluded that,

> the cure must be gradual; it must be sought, and will in time be found in the improved moral and economical habits, and increased intelligence of the people: these are sure to take due effect and raise the condition of the poor, when unimpeded by positive institutions of an injurious tendency.[21]

Among those schemes he advocated was the creation of a class of economically independent

---

[18] 1830 (655) vii. *Third Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland,* Bourke's evidence, 511.

[19] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland*, 18.

[20] Aubrey de Vere, *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds* (London, 1848), 179-80. This was written during the Famine, probably as a response to the more radical wing of the Young Ireland movement. This is significant because William Smith O'Brien's involvement in Young Ireland, and his formerly close relationship to these Liberal elite families in Limerick, meant that they had to put new efforts into re-stating and re-emphasising their position. See Chapter 5.

[21] 1830 (655) vii. *Third Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland,* Bourke's evidence, 503.

agricultural labourers who would be free to sell their labour in a competitive market.[22] When Daniel Barrington implemented Bourke's plan on his estates in 1827 (under Spring Rice's supervision), he used the fact that many of his tenants owed more than a year's rent as persuasion: the three who had farms elsewhere were evicted and given a remission of one year's rent; the five who had no other land were also given a year's rent remission, and transferred to small cottages on Bourke's land at Moher in Tipperary, with four acre plots of land (deemed sufficient to enable them to grow vegetables and potatoes for their own consumption, despite the fact that it was not very fertile).[23] By 1831 there were five small holdings at Moher, and Bourke concluded that 'the occupants of four seem to be doing well as Labourers and in seasons of scarcity of distress I shd like to assist them by giving them employment on the Town land.'[24] Despite the widespread scarcity of work in pre-Famine Ireland, it is clear that Bourke expected his labourers to develop economic independence, and he somewhat unrealistically looked to the development of manufacturing industry in the region to increase the demand for workers. In fact he estimated that a re-established linen industry alone would provide work for at least 20,000 people within seven years.[25] Apparently, his tenants and former tenants were satisfied with his proposals, and they accepted the relocations. We do not know how begrudging their acceptance was (since they were obviously in an inferior position in the negotiations) but there was no violence, which surprised Bourke's agent Daniel Barrington because it was in direct contrast to what had happened when tried to implement a similar plan in Co. Clare for his other employer, Lord Limerick (Edmond Henry Pery). Pery's plan only offered 2 acres per tenant (though this was more fertile land than Bourke's), and his tenants refused to accept it, and resisted eviction. Daniel clearly expected that forcing the evictions would bring the forces of Captain Rock down upon his own head, and he managed to persuade Pery to give up the plan, for fear of further 'bad consequences[,] they living in such a

---

[22] *Ibid.*, Bourke's evidence, 488; 'Memoranda from M.Genl Bourke', May 1831, part 2 (instructions to Malachy Hogan, Bourke's Steward at Thornfield), Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke. See also J.J. Lee, 'The Dual Economy in Ireland, 1800-50', *IHS* 8 (1971), 191-201.

[23] Daniel Barrington to Bourke, 28 April 1827, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21771.

[24] 'Memoranda from M.Genl Bourke', May 1831, part 1 (instructions to Daniel Barrington), Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke.

[25] Petition from Association for the Encouragement of Industry in the County and City of Limerick, (draft by Bourke), n.d. [c.1822-3], Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(1).

disturbed district'.[26] Spring Rice's own farm consolidations were eased by his emigration schemes, through which about 600 of his tenants emigrated in the twenty years after 1837.[27] As he reminded the Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Clarendon) in 1848, emigration relieved the economic pressures that led to agrarian protest in Ireland. He gave as his example the recent assisted emigration from the Crown estate at Ballykilcline, Co. Roscommon, which had

> transformed into consumers of British manufactures men, who would only have been White Boys and Molly Maguires without either principles or breeches at home.[28]

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the creation of a class of landless labourers was an effective way of enhancing and consolidating Ascendancy power. This conclusion is reinforced by Bourke's systematic policy of making his tenants 'tenants-at-will' whenever 'life' tenancies expired. He believed that

> confidence may be more speedily constituted in Ireland between honest landlords and their Tenants by leaving the Tenants at Will and subject to removal on notice.[29]

However, this way of protecting landlord interests was, he thought, balanced by the responsibilities of his paternal relationship with his tenants which insisted on 'generous' and fair treatment.[30] When he left for New South Wales, his instructions to his agent demonstrate the estate management policies that he had developed over the last two decades: he instructed his agent to pay for all permanent improvements to both buildings and farms, whether leased under tenant-at-will, 21-year, or concurrent life agreements, and to ensure that his labouring

---

[26] Daniel Barrington to Bourke, 28 April 1827, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21771. Bourke was Lieutenant-Governor at the Cape at this time and was thus unable to implement the plan himself. Daniel Barrington (Matthew's younger brother) also acted for Spring Rice at various times during the 1820s and 30s, and Spring Rice also agreed to oversee Barrington's activities at Thornfield during the periods Bourke was in the Cape and New South Wales. For Bourke's use of emigration to ease congestion on his estates, see Bourke papers, NLI ms 8221; and 1825 (181) ix. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Lords Select Committee on the State of Ireland*), Bourke's evidence, 16 Mar. 1825, 180-1.

[27] Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13400(1 and 3); S.C. O'Mahony, 'Monteagle Emigrant Letters', unpublished paper to conference on Australia and Ireland, TCD, 22 April 1987. Lord Limerick is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

[28] Spring Rice to Lord Clarendon, 30 Oct. 1848, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13400(2).

[29] 'Memoranda from M.Genl Bourke', May 1831, part 1, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke.

[30] See also 'improving landlords' like the Duke of Devonshire. See W.A. Maguire (ed.), *Letters of a Great Irish Landlord... 3rd Marquis of Downshire* (Belfast, 1974); and W.A. Maguire, *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845: the management of Irish landed estates in the early nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1972).

tenants at Moher were supplied with their necessities in seasons of distress.[31] He also left instructions that the widow Ryan was to be receive a life-long annuity (despite Bourke's assertion that she had no claim on his family, since her late husband had never been their tenant), but at the same time she and her son should be evicted if the opportunity became available, because the son 'govern[ed] his poor Mother much to her disadvantage', was 'incurably idle and vicious', and would never 'become a good man or industrious farmer.'[32] In practice, there were no more than three or four evictions during the four decades that he controlled the Thornfield estate.

Bourke assumed that it was his right to decide which of his tenants were deserving, and which should be jettisoned. On the other hand, he felt that elite moral responsibility demanded a balance between harsh judgements and humane treatment. Like other Liberal landlords (including Spring Rice, Matthew Barrington, Lord Cloncurry, Aubrey de Vere) he declined to collect rents during the periods of famine and agrarian distress during the 1820s, and gave rent remissions.[33]

The economic benefits of Bourke's systematic approach to the management of tenants were substantial. However, his over-riding purpose was to establish his control over his estate and his tenants, and to establish his legitimacy as a member of a moral Irish elite. Due deference from his tenants would prove that he had achieved this legitimacy.[34] This vision was

---

[31] An exception to his policy of making 'tenants-at-will' was his Limerick Townlands, where he thought it might be possible to create freehold tenancies whose votes would be given to 'Spring Rice's interest'. Though he expected that the Reform Bill would put an end to this method of creating an interest, he was not above using it to support the Liberal cause in the meantime. 'Memoranda from M.Genl Bourke', May 1831, part 1, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke.

[32] There are many other examples of his paternal treatment of his tenants, and he proudly concluded that there were no paupers on his lands. However, he restricted his contribution to poor relief for those tenants who held land by leases 'in perpetuity' (from whom he received little rent, could not evict, and had no legal - or, he thought, moral - responsibility). 'Memoranda from M.Genl Bourke', May 1831, part 1, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke.

[33] Estate papers and rentals, Bourke papers, MWRAL.

[34] See David Dickson's evidence on the relative lack of control that Irish landlords in Munster had over the terms upon which they rented their land in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. 'Catholics and Trade in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: an old debate revisited' in T.P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth* century (Dublin, 1990), 90. The shift toward 'tenant-at-will' leases was an attempt to regain control, but also to find a firm legal basis wherein they could evict tenants when necessary. At every point it is clear that the elite, whether reformist or not, wanted to establish their right to make the decisions. The difference was in the degree of paternal responsibility

echoed by Spring Rice in 1815:

> ... He [the writer] fully appreciates the elevated duties of the Irish country gentleman; and highly as he rates these duties, numberless individuals may be pointed out, who fulfil them with the most scrupulous fidelity. Such individuals are entitled to the respect of their country, as well as to the gratitude of their dependants. For the situation of a resident landed proprietor in Ireland is, by no means, a sinecure. It does not afford the literary leisure, the happy retirement, which his brother squires in England may enjoy. It is a sphere of personal privation, and of personal exertion. But, when a mind is awake to that first of all delights, the power of becoming extensively and permanently useful, all privations are forgotten, all labour is well repaid. A peasantry capable of improvement, and grateful for every benevolent assistance, look up to the landlord as to a protector and a friend. He may not only assist their distresses, but may enable them to assist themselves. He may place the means of success within their reach, and may remove the obstacles which impede their progressive amelioration. And, if at the close of a long life, an individual is able to view around him, order, industry, and morals; the young instructed - the old protected - improved habits - an obedience to the laws - an independent spirit, fully compatible with the most affectionate gratitude - if he can view around him the happiness above described - if he can humbly hope that he has been made instrumental in its diffusion, how full of enjoyment will be his moments of reflection! The pursuits of the contemplative philosopher may be more scientific - the career of the successful patriot more brilliant - but what course can be run with greater utility, or terminated in more dignified repose![35]

Bourke's approach to estate management served a number of purposes that he believed contributed to the improvement of social and economic relations in Ireland. It prevented sub-letting and it undercut the conacre system which, through increasing population and subdivision led to reduced harvest and plot size. Bourke argued that this subsequently produced extreme poverty, famines, and growing economic dependence among the population. His farm consolidation plans also made possible a gradual broad change from agriculture to cattle grazing, which was relatively profitable for Bourke, and which he viewed as an important part of the process for reclaiming bogs.[36] These plans were also intended to create a yeomanry of individuals whose capacity for moral responsibility and economic independence would be

---

they accepted for their tenants.

[35] Thomas Spring Rice, *An Inquiry into the Effects of the Irish Grand Jury Laws* (1815), 23-4.

[36] Rentals and Accounts, Bourke papers (uncatalogued), MWRAL; Rentals and Accounts, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke. See also Matthew Duhy, *Remarks on the advantage of the Landed Property Improvement Act and Hints on Draining* (Dublin, 1850). There is debate about whether an overall shift from tillage to pasture occurred in pre-Famine Ireland, based on the historical assessment of the butter trade. See Peter Solar, 'The Irish butter trade in the nineteenth century: new estimates and their implications', *Studia Hibernica* 25 (1989-90), 134-161 and J.S. Donnelly jnr, 'Cork market: its role in the nineteenth-century Irish butter trade', *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971), 130-63. Regardless, Bourke was able to take advantage of the quickening in the Irish livestock trade which occurred in the 1820s and 30s as a result of the introduction of steamship Channel crossings and the reduction of internal demand for the provisions trade. Louis Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1972, 2nd ed.), 113.

improved through competition. The new emphasis on payment in money and on independent labourers would ensure that the scope for middle-man and landlord corruption would be reduced and would undercut the system of sub-letting and sub-dividing small farms, while reformed economic and social relations would help to create an order in which community relations would be moral and inter-dependent. In addition, he believed that new, competitive economic relations would both produce a flow of capital into the Irish economy (rather than maintaining what he believed were stagnant economic relations).[37]

However, although laissez-faire could have an important effect on public morality, the severity and depth of Irish economic and social problems were proof that government intervention was not only desirable, but necessary. It was the duty of the British State to assist the resident gentry in their voluntary efforts to aid the poor. Bourke's resolution at a meeting of Limerick Magistrates in 1823 read:

> That whilst we earnestly recommend those steps necessary for the alleviation of moderate distress we feel their incompetency to affect any permanent improvement in the condition of the Labouring Poor. To the wisdom of the Legislature we must look for some comprehensive measures which shall gradually raise the condition of the labouring classes of Ireland, and strike at the root of discontent and turbulence by ensuring to the Poor the comforts and decencies of life.[38]

Economic theory was a means to an end for Bourke. His ideal was a positive programme of government activity that would promote the operation of market forces, but would harness them for moral, social and political ends. Irish Liberals were willing to use all the available social, economic, political and legislative tools to achieve the aim of producing a Christian moral improvement in society.

In 1835-6 Poulett Scrope, William Smith O'Brien and Sir Richard Musgrave had all introduced bills for the relief of the Irish poor, but never pressed them beyond second reading because the Government spokesman (Lord Morpeth) asked that the matter be allowed to stand over until the following session when the Royal Commission's report would be considered, and

---

[37] 1830 (655) vii. *Third Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland,* Bourke's evidence, 504.

[38] Richard Bourke's draft minutes of meeting of Magistrates Clanwilliam North (Co. Limerick), re: distress and outrages, n.d. [1822/3?], Bourke papers, NLI ms 8498(1).

a subsequent ministerial measure would be brought forward.[39] Chaired by Richard Whately, this Commission rejected the proposal that the New Poor Law should be applied to Ireland. The workhouse might be valuable where the able-bodied could always obtain work, but in Ireland 'we see that the labouring class are eager for work, that work there is not for them, and that they are therefore, and not from any fault of their own, in permanent want.'[40] This assessment closely reflected the views of Spring Rice and other Irish Liberals, who were in close consultation with Richard Whately and Nassau Senior. Spring Rice had strenuously opposed the introduction of the Poor Laws into Ireland as early as 1829, when he told the House of Commons that

> they were vicious in system, indefensible in practice, had failed in this country [England], must inflict deep injury on the landholders, and were calculated to aggravate all the evils of pauperism instead of diminishing them.[41]

A month beforehand, he had tried to persuade Bishop Doyle on the issue, by writing:

> I never will argue against the poor laws if it can be shown that their establishment would be for the benefit of the poor themselves. It is that I doubt. The prosperity of the bulk of the people must depend on the profitable demand for their labour, and I cannot see that Poor Laws tend to augment the demand for labour in any respect.[42]

Instead, he recommended the establishment of a Board of Works, and a State-funded assisted emigration scheme, to boost employment and economic development in Ireland. The same measures were recommended by Nassau Senior in 1831 in his *Letter to Lord Howick*, by the Select Committee into the State of the Irish Poor in 1836, and by a Committee of the Limerick Board of Trade in the 1830s.[43]

The Poor Law was introduced to Ireland in 1838, despite this Irish Liberal opposition. By 1841 Bourke had already concluded that his predictions were proven: workhouses were already

---

[39] *Hansard 3*, xxix (8 July 1835), 308; *Ibid.*, xxxix (8 June 1836), 39, 211.

[40] 1836 (43) xxx. *Third Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Poor in Ireland, 5.*

[41] Hansard 2, xxi (7 May 1829), 1142.

[42] Spring Rice to Doyle, 26 April 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345.

[43] N.W. Senior, *A Letter to Lord Howick, on a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor; Commutation of Tithes, and a Provision for the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy* (London, 1831, 2nd ed.), esp. 13-14; 1836 (43) xxx. *Third Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Poor in Ireland*; *First Report of the Committee of the Limerick Board of Trade, appointed to enquire into the present state and prospects of Irish Manufactures, especially those carried on in Limerick and its vicinity* (Limerick, n.d., [c.1830s]).

proving inadequate to deal with the 'extended destitution' of the country. Instead, a 'well considered arrangement' for distributing food and a few articles of clothing to the destitute was far preferable. He asked, 'Is it too late to retrace the steps?'[44] He also wrote to William Smith O'Brien in 1843 that,

> I have the worst possible opinion of the existing system of poor relief in Ireland. I consider it quite unsuitable to the circumstances of the country, and would with pleasure see all the workhouses thrown down if a better system were to follow.[45]

The Poor Law issue showed that Irish Liberals were not sufficiently capable of influencing the British State on fundamental Irish questions, even when a Whig government was in power. This failure on the Irish Poor Law was one of the major reasons many Irish Liberals became disillusioned in the early 1840s, but their failure to influence Whig policy during the Famine was far more disastrous.

Recent research has made it clear that Irish elite attempts to deal with the Famine varied widely, were often poorly co-ordinated, and were constrained by a whole range of political, economic and social considerations. Individuals varied in the degree to which they were willing to sacrifice for the poor, and the degree to which they were able to absorb the economic implications of those actions. While the British State and English popular opinion argued that it was the responsibility of landlords to bear the financial burden, and to fund famine relief through poor rates,[46] many landlords were clearly incapable of doing this. The worst effects of the Famine were concentrated in the West, and therefore landlords in Limerick, Clare, Galway and Mayo felt the burden to a much greater extent than landlords in the Eastern counties. Many were already heavily indebted and their estates encumbered, and in any case their main income came from rents which increasingly could not be collected. It was from this drastically reduced income that they had to bear the burden of the whole workhouse system.[47]

---

[44] Bourke to Spring Rice, 5 July 1841, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/9.

[45] Bourke to Smith O'Brien, 7 May 1843, William Smith O'Brien papers, NLI ms 432; Lee, 'Dual Economy', 191-201.

[46] James S. Donnelly jnr, '"Irish property must pay for Irish poverty": British public opinion and the Great Irish Famine' in Chris Morash and Richard Hayes (eds), *Fearful Realities: new perspectives on the Famine* (Dublin, 1996), 60-76.

[47] James S. Donnelly jnr, 'Mass eviction and the Great Famine: the clearances revisited' in Cathal Póirtéir, *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 1995), 155-203.

What emerges most clearly from the Irish elite's response to the Famine, is that they were incapable of unified action, whether in implementing a consistent course of action to deal with the catastrophe themselves, or in bringing sufficient and coherent influence to bear on the British State to take those actions.[48] However, they did make efforts to relieve the suffering of the poor, however inadequate. None of Limerick's Liberals collected rents during the Famine, many gave remissions on rent arrears, and there was not a single tenant eviction from the estates of these families during the Famine.[49] Liberals were also involved in substantial private attempts to moderate the effects of the disaster, which relied on their experience of previous shortages, especially in the early 1820s. They were extensively involved in voluntary relief schemes and in supporting Quaker famine relief initiatives. Their primary focus was on helping their own tenants through soup kitchens, providing grain and potatoes, supervising public works, and funding of emigration to the new world (especially America and Australia).[50]

However, as the scale of the Famine was revealed (even within the first year), Irish Liberals looked to the British State to take on the support the Irish people through the disaster more fully. As early as 1845, Spring Rice asked for special measures by the State, which he thought should be based on the London Tavern Committee's actions during the 1822 famine.

As he told Robert Peel,

> We adopted the principle as far as we could of giving our aid in furtherance of local effort, and through local bodies regularly constituted, responsible, and rendering an account of their expenditure . ... At present, unfortunately, I anticipate

---

[48] For example, see Nassau Senior's bitterness at his marginalisation in the Whig government's policy-making process in [Nassau Senior], 'The relief of Irish distress in 1847 and 1848', *Edinburgh Review* 79 (1849), 221-68.

[49] Barrington papers (Glenstal Abbey, Murroe, County Limerick); *Limerick Reporter*, 2 Mar. 1847, announcing Cloncurry's decision to remit unpaid rents for the past 3 years, and to refund twenty-five percent of last half-year's rent if it had been paid; See also Richard Bourke's famine relief, Rentals and Accounts for 'Thornfield' and 'Moher', Bourke papers, NLI mss 19761, 19789-19798, 21771-2, 21841; Rentals and Accounts, Bourke papers (uncatalogued), MWRAL; Rentals and Accounts, Bourke papers, private possession, Mr Gerard Bourke; and Mount Trenchard Rentals and Accounts, Monteagle papers, NLI mss 588; printed address to Mrs Stephen Spring Rice from the tenants of the estate (with particular reference to the Famine), 10 June 1865, Monteagle papers in possession of Lord Monteagle. This group suffered financially in the long-term, however their immediate capacity to absorb the financial implications of the Famine must have been far greater than that of landlords in Clare, Galway Mayo, and Kerry. See Donnelly, 'Mass eviction and the Great Famine', 155-203 and Donnelly's Chapter in *NHI* v. 332-49.

[50] Chris O'Mahony, 'Emigration from the Limerick workhouse 1848-1860', *OLJ* 10 (Spring 1982), 23-6 and his 'Monteagle Emigrant Letters', unpublished paper to conference on Australia and Ireland, TCD, 22 April 1987; Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13400(1, 2, 3).

> no such effort of a private nature in England. Various causes, some rational, others unreasonable, have diminished, if they have not totally extinguished, the sympathy on which in 1822 we relied. I therefore fear that if an extreme case should render the interposition of others necessary, it must be public assistance alone that can be looked to.[51]

Nassau Senior agreed that while no permanent system of outdoor support should be established, the State must assist in the temporary relief of famine, both directly and through public works. He wrote to Spring Rice that,

> No course seems practicable except considering ourselves in a state of war against scarcity, and drawing upon the national resources to wage it. A Portion of the Irish population must be considered as an army to be fed and employed - and fortunately the means of employing them are ready. We need not dig holes and fill them again, or look out for public works. The railways are ready. Could not Government contract for finishing certain lines, and be entitled to participate in the profits?[52]

Spring Rice and Bourke were consistent throughout the pre-Famine period in their view that the principles of classical political economy were not themselves at fault. Both were enthusiastic advocates of the theory of political economy, as were many improving landlords. Richard Bourke argued that this theory was an extension of Adam Smith's ideas, and also of Edmund Burke who had 'led the way in asserting the principles of free trade and the necessity for economical reform'.[53] Indeed, by 1844 Richard Bourke thought this 'science of economy' had long since surpassed Edmund Burke's 'very flat and trite morals of political economy', and Bourke was confident that further development would be achieved.[54]

The problem was that English political economists based their policies on English examples and then tried to apply them in Ireland without adaptation, despite the very different circumstances there.[55] Irish Liberals claimed the right to advise British policy makers on these

---

[51] Spring Rice to Robert Peel, 24 Oct. 1845, Peel papers, BL add. mss 40576.

[52] Nassau Senior to Spring Rice, 14 Nov. 1845, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13361. Many local Famine Relief committees were based on the same principles as those formed in 1822. See, for example, Sean Kierse, *The Famine Years in the Parish of Killaloe 1845-1851* (Killaloe, 1984), 74-76.

[53] Bourke's draft preface to Edmund Burke, *Correspondence between the year 1744 and his decease in 1797* ed. Earl Fitzwilliam and Richard Bourke (London, 1844) 4 vols. Bourke papers, ML ms 403/10X, 124.

[54] Bourke to Dick Bourke (Richard Bourke jnr), 14 June 1844, Bourke papers ML mss 403/13.

[55] See also T.A. Boylan and T.P. Foley, 'J.E. Cairns, J.S. Mill and Ireland' in Antoin E. Murphy, *Economists and the Irish Economy* (Dublin, 1984), 105, 111, which shows that other Irish political economists, like Cairns, questioned the universal validity of laissez faire and free trade. *cf.* Spring Rice's policies in England when Chancellor of the Exchequer. During the

circumstances, and they argued that Ireland should not be forced into an English mould and punished for centuries of British mismanagement and interference. Richard Bourke had used these arguments as early as 1824, when he had cited the example of the Irish woollen manufacturing industry, which he said had been so successful in the eighteenth century that

> it became an object of jealousy to England, efforts were made to discourage it, and by perseverance in a selfish policy almost without example in the history of Nations, the English Government accomplished the destruction of the Woolen Manufacture of Ireland. The consequences were such as must always result from depriving a large population of employment and consigning it to poverty and despair. The South of Ireland became a prey to tumult and distraction and has continued in a convulsed and disorganized state from that period to the present moment.[56]

He compared this with the linen industry and 'state of society' in Ulster. This was not related to any cultural or religious similarity to England. Instead, a British policy of 'encouragement' had produced a flourishing linen manufacturing industry, with the result that 'Wealth has flowed in abundance, habits of industry have been created, peace and contentment prevail throughout.'[57] Bourke argued that if the same support were given to the southwest, it would experience similar results regardless of its Irish Catholic workforce:

> Manufacture is not only extending but rapidly improving and if not cut short by an unexpected and impolitic discouragement, may be found at no distant period capable of maintain itself independently of bounties or other extrinsic aid.[58]

Though it was not a total surprise to Irish Liberals they fell out of step with Whig policy toward Ireland during the Great Famine, it was fatal to their capacity to claim leadership within Ireland. Most Liberals adhered to the ideas of classical political economy in principle, but they questioned the way they were applied to Ireland in general, and they thought it obviously

---

1830s he earned the nickname in Birmingham of 'Boiled Rice' for his 'dry' 1836 Budget. *Birmingham Mail*, 21 April 1936 (comparing Chamberlain's budget with Spring Rice's 1836 budget), Monteagle papers in possession of Lord Monteagle, Co. Cork.

[56] 'Petition of the Gentry, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Limerick', n.d. [c.1824], Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(1).

[57] *Ibid.* English industrialists also thought their English workers deficient in work discipline and habits of industry, and sought to change them in exactly the same ways as Irish supporters of political economy sought to change Irish workers. That is, this was an issue of class more than ethnicity. E.P. Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present,* 38 (1967). See also his *Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1980, 3rd ed.), 337. *cf.* Boylan and Foley's view that Liberal attempts to change working class habits in Ireland were the result of ethnic difference and attempted anglicisation in a colonial setting. Boylan and Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland*, 145-8.

[58] Petition of the Gentry Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Limerick, n.d. [c.1824], Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(1).

inappropriate to apply the normal principles of political economy in such a catastrophe, especially after centuries of English mismanagement in Ireland. Spring Rice was at the forefront of the Irish Liberal attack on English Whig policies toward Ireland, and he made a particularly virulent attack on Charles Trevalyan's Irish policy in 1846, when the public works scheme was closed:

> ... after what I have seen and know, the government must be prepared to face much responsibility if they wish to keep society together. ... "Why not help yourselves as in England and Scotland" it is asked, you might as well ask a child why he does not perform the functions of a man ... The sword of conquest passed through our land but a century and a half back - insurrections in 1798 and 1803 - partial outbreaks at later times - tithes collected at the bayonet point - penal laws continued till 1820, and then reluctantly repealed - these things have destroyed our country - have degraded our people, and you, English, now shrink from your responsibilities; you keep gabbling about the incompetency of the Celtic race and the injustice of Irish landlords; ... remember as Wilberforce said, that England owes us a debt for the wrongs of centuries. Endeavour to repay it, not by pauperizing us, but by raising us above our present condition.[59]

This appeal fell upon deaf ears in England, and Irish Liberals found themselves unable to substantiate their claim to leadership of the Irish nation with the full support of the British State. They had reached the limits of the conditional allegiance that the British State had to the elite in Ireland.

III. Critique of Aristocracy

The failure of the independent Irish Parliament, the 1798 Rebellion, and the resurgence in agrarian violence after 1815, together produced an increasing tendency toward absenteeism among the Irish elite, a growing reluctance among the Irish and English aristocracies and gentries to invest in Ireland, a growing emphasis on criticisms of the Irish elite within Ireland and from England.[60] This was an elite under attack from other groups in Irish society, and from England as well. However, Irish Liberals responded differently from those Irish 'Tory' responses about which historians have written so much. They developed a powerful critique of aristocracy, which focused on the issues of absenteeism and corruption, and which aimed at reform that

---

[59] Spring Rice to Lord Bessborough, 1 Oct. 1846, cited in Board of Works, Ireland, *Correspondence with Lord Monteagle and Hon. Stephen Spring Rice* (Dublin, 1846).

[60] Malcolmson and Vaughan both challenge the notion of that most Irish landowners were absentee in the sense that they lived outside Ireland, however the historical debate continues unabated. What is clear, is that previous assumptions about the degree of absenteeism among the elite require caution. A.P.W. Malcolmson, 'Absenteeism in eighteenth-century Ireland', *IESH* 1 (1974), 15-35; W.E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants 1848-1904* (Dublin, 1984).

was to be initiated and controlled by the Irish elite itself. This critique was a response to continuing challenges to the Ascendancy. Its main aim was to achieve reform without undercutting the elite's claim to legitimate leadership or their right to determine the direction and extent of change in Irish society. This attempt to reform the Irish elite from the inside involved proposals for municipal reform (see next chapter), the reform of grand juries, the development of an impartial administration, and an emphasis on the rule of law. The changed political and administrative circumstances of the Union, and the fact that the elite had to operate in dual Irish and British circumstances, had a fundamental effect on Liberal attitudes to elite and government reform. This is particularly obvious in the Liberal emphasis on the rule of (British) Law as a way of dealing with the important issues of landlord-tenant relationships and the crucial area of response to the challenges posed by agrarian violence. In fact one of the key areas of conflict between Irish Liberals and Irish Tories was on whether the policies of coercion or conciliation were most appropriate in dealing with agrarian violence. Liberals favoured conciliation, on the grounds that this allowed them to resolve the problems that produced agrarian violence and at the same time to maintain elite leadership. Their emphasis was on regaining the support of the Irish populace for their own leadership by demonstrating their responsiveness, sense of moral responsibility, and their willingness to achieve what they deemed reasonable reform.

One of the threats to this notion of the elite role in Irish society came from the reputation and actions of the elite itself. While it was possible to accuse the Ascendancy of absenteeism and corruption, it would never be possible to establish this group as a legitimate elite with the support of the populace. Thus Liberals quickly came to focus on the need to critique and reform the elite from the inside, with the overall aim of establishing or re-establishing legitimacy. Without the consent of the populace, Liberals believed that it would be impossible to maintain the elite in the long term, and even in the short term it would be impossible to achieve the kind of gate-keeping role that would limit change.

The belief that the penal laws had created an artificial and illegitimate aristocracy, that was incompatible with an organic hierarchical society, was a second fundamental plank in the Liberal vision. Spring Rice argued that the penal laws had granted a 'monopoly of power ... to the protestants; and this, like most other monopolies, has proved injurious to those who

enjoyed its privileges, as well as to those excluded from them."[61] He continued,

> In short, the elevation of the privileged sect was as unnatural as the depression of the excluded classes; and both tended to destroy that beautiful gradation through which all that is highest and lowest in society is brought to "blend, soften, and unite."[62]

In addition,

> ... the means ... used [to carry the Act of Union] completed the demoralization of the ordinary race of Irish politicians, and destroyed what little remained of confidence in public men. Thus was the independence of Ireland surrendered; thus terminated her separate political existence; thus were abandoned those trophies which Grattan had nobly won.[63]

As a result this unnatural and corrupted aristocracy was unsuited to the new tasks demanded of them after the Union, and even the country gentleman,

> who might have diffused civilization and happiness around his residence, was seduced to the levees of the Castle, to sell his independence for a coronet or a pension. ... The political power, honour, and patronage, which, fairly distributed, would have given to all the community a direct interest in maintaining the established order of things, has been parcelled out among one tenth part of the population, and has become the source of continued jealousy and heart-burning.[64]

He concluded that 'a great gulf has been fixed' between the two extremes which, as in slave-owning societies, corrupted both groups.[65] Bourke also argued that British policy in Ireland actively perpetuated this 'abominable system of government' and its corrupt aristocracy, by maintaining all the old prejudices and animosities 'for the mere purpose of leaving the Government in the hands of a few miserable and abandoned jobbers of the Protestant persuasion."[66] He added that

> the lowest orders of Roman Catholics in Ireland are aware that they labour under certain civil disabilities; that they are to a certain degree, a proscribed and degraded class in their own country.[67]

Similar views were espoused repeatedly by Liberal Protestants during the 1820s, and continued

---

[61] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland*, 18.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*, 13.

[64] *Ibid.*, 18-19.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Bourke to Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant, 3 June 1808, Le Marchant papers, Royal Military College at Sandhurst.

[67] 1825 (181) ix. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Lords Select Committee on the State of Ireland*), Bourke's evidence, 16 Mar. 1825, 180-1.

to be echoed over the next decades. In 1848 Aubrey de Vere still argued that by placing most of the country's property in the hands of the Protestants, the penal laws had set up 'a despotic squirearchy' which had become the 'slaves of England and ... the delegated tyrants of Ireland'.[68]

The Liberal critique of the Irish aristocracy went further than the critique of elite absenteeism developed by such people as Bishop Jebb and Maria Edgeworth (in her famous book *The Absentee*).[69] Jebb argued that absenteeism was 'the chief bane of Ireland' and that it resulted in the south's departure from the divinely ordained 'graduated scale of society, descending, by due steps, from the highest to the lowest rank and order'.[70] Absentees were avoiding their social and financial responsibilities in Ireland because

> a distant tenantry, never visited and never seen ... seems to be considered ... a mere system of machinery for the putting forth of so much coin.[71]

Unexercised affections were wont to wither and die, allowing absentees to ignore their social and moral responsibility. The main focus of Jebb's concern was the negative impact absenteeism had on the dissemination of Church of Ireland moral values among the Irish population. In the north the clergy were merged with the upper ranks of society, which included the whole range of aristocracy, gentry, wealthy farmers, and manufacturers. This meant that they were unified and therefore largely successful in their attempts to disseminate Church of Ireland morality. Jebb went so far as to welcome the assistance that Presbyterian teachers were providing to this Church of Ireland elite in this moral (and consequently) political regeneration.[72] In the south, however, absenteeism was preventing moral regeneration because the Church of Ireland clergy were not receiving the support of a moral and resident Church of Ireland gentry. Instead, the clergy were forced to abandon their ecclesiastical duties

---

[68] de Vere, *English Misrule*, 79-80.

[69] Bishop John Jebb, *A Speech (in defence of the Church of Ireland)* ... ed. Richard Jebb (jnr), (London, 1868 [1824]); Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent* (London, 1801) and *The Absentee* (London, 1809). See also Maria Edgeworth letters to Spring Rice, 1824-50, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13346.

[70] Jebb, *Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Limerick ... 19 June 1823* (Dublin, 1823), 36.

[71] *Ibid.*, 34-5.

[72] This recalls Knox's strategy of paying Presbyterian clergy in order to reclaim their aid in supporting the political and moral aims of the State (see Chapter 2).

in order to take on the social duties of the gentry, which included the fruitless task of trying to extract famine relief from absentee landlords, or as he put it, 'sunbeams from cucumbers.'[73]

Bourke and Spring Rice both agreed that the dissemination of Christian morality was essential, though they increasingly distanced themselves from the view that these values must be specifically Church of Ireland. Their vision was much more than a plan to disseminate Christian values throughout society: it necessarily involved a thorough and direct programme of recasting social relations at both institutional and individual levels. For Bourke this involved eradicating artificial boundaries in social and political life between the gentry and the poor, and between Protestant and Catholic, which he believed were responsible for further demoralising an already degraded population. Their aim was to create a functional, integrated Irish society within the bounds created by the need to protect elite interests; and this involved substantial change rather than the return to an eighteenth-century status quo. In contrast, Jebb wanted a return to an hierarchical and organic society because it was divinely ordained and because it was essential in the eventual moral improvement of the Irish population: for him change in Ireland was always directed at enforcing the legal and religious status quo, with the hope that the Irish population could be absorbed into an Anglican constitutional model. In contrast, Bourke's willingness to conceive of a broadly Christian society and morality meant that he could promote a much broader range of reforms, but this did not mean that he would ever abandon the basic economic and legal structures that were necessary to maintain the elite's leadership. For him, absenteeism did much economic damage to Ireland, but he opposed the proposal for taxing absentee landlords at a higher rate on the grounds that this would do nothing to improve Irish morality, and that it would at the same time prevent Irish economic development. He told the 1825 Select Committee that though

> Ireland suffers considerably in some respects from absenteeism, and I should be very glad to see Irish proprietors reside upon their estates in Ireland; but I think any measure that would go to deter the English capitalist from purchasing land in Ireland, and improving it, would be injurious to the country.[74]

To this degree, he agreed with McCullough, who argued that English capital was fundamental

---

[73] Jebb, *1823 Charge*, 35-37; Jebb, *Defence of the Church of Ireland*, 35.

[74] 1830 (655) vii. *Third Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland*, Bourke's evidence, 16 June 1830, 50.

to any plan for Irish improvement, and therefore that the economic punishment of absenteeism was misguided. Furthermore,

> before the residence of the landlords can be advantageous to Ireland, they must learn in some degree to sympathize with the feelings of the people; and though we do not expect them to renounce Protestantism for Catholicism, they must, at all events, cease to exhibit themselves as leaders of Orangemen, and as the most vehement opposers of the rights and privileges so long and so unwisely withheld from their Catholic countrymen. When once the landlords have convinced the people that they have the same interests as them - that they are no longer the abettors of their oppressors, and the revilers of all that they most esteem - their residence will be advantageous.[75]

Beyond the important economic effects of absenteeism, the central issue was the moral and social role of the resident gentry. For example, the most important compliment Spring Rice could pay to Bourke was that he was

> one of the best as well as the ablest men I know ... [because he] exchanged Beaconsfield and the Horse Guards for our bogs and mountains where he did more to improve the people and to reform the gentry (a most difficult task) than I ever saw effected.[76]

Absentees failing to perform these roles, but in addition, popular anger about absenteeism and about the failings of many resident landlords as well, were exposing the Irish elite as a whole to virulent and sustained attack.

All the various Irish Liberal reform schemes were based on concepts of the individual and morality, that had been developed in the religious debates of the 1820s. Whether the focus was education, agrarian violence and the rule of law, the creation of a middle class and a competitive economic system, or an insistence on virtue among the aristocracy, Irish Liberals sought to re-structure and introduce morality into social relations. It was hoped that this elite-led reform would divert Radicalism, and would create an organic society which was not decisively divided between elite and populace, or Protestant and Catholic. Most importantly, this elite-led reform would allow this Irish elite to adapt to the new circumstances of the Union in ways that allowed them to demonstrate their virtue and their capacity for leadership within Ireland.

---

[75] [McCullough, J.R.], 'Absenteeism', *Edinburgh Review* 43 (Nov. 1825), 69.

[76] Spring Rice to Huskisson, 3 Dec. 1827, Huskisson Papers, BL add. mss 38752/19 f.180. This is not proof that Bourke was successful, but it does indicate a shared understanding between Bourke and Spring Rice that improving the people and reforming the gentry were appropriate and important aims. This letter was intended to help Bourke obtain a colonial position.

However, this weak elite were caught between the local threats of agrarian violence and Catholic Nationalism on one hand, and the British State on the other. In addition, Liberal social reforms attracted as much opposition from other elite groups as they did from below. Political power was the only way that this group could hope to achieve sufficient power to make a real difference. Chapter 5 explains how a Liberal rural gentry became politically active in Limerick City, how they formed alliances with other urban groups that shared their economic and political interests, and how Liberal social and religious ideas were transformed into a fully-fledged Liberal political ideology.

The Chairing of Thomas Spring Rice, M.P., 1820, oil painting by William Turner of Oxford (by permission of the Limerick Chamber of Commerce).

CHAPTER 5

THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN IRELAND

This chapter shows how and why a politically active group of Irish Liberals emerged in Limerick. Irish Liberalism developed in response to specifically Irish circumstances and needs, and was based on religious language.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century were a period of transition and adaptation in which old political alliances were re-shaped to take account of the new circumstances of the Union and shifts in power between economic groups. These changing circumstances also demanded transformations in political ideology among the elite. Jacqueline Hill has provided a convincing explanation of how and why eighteenth-century Irish Protestant Patriots in Dublin became nineteenth-century Irish Protestant 'Tory' Unionists, in response to the new demands and circumstances of the Union.[1] Irish Whig Patriots in Limerick and Clare also became Unionists in the first decades of the nineteenth-century. However, instead of unifying around the issue of Protestant defence, they co-operated with an emerging Catholic bourgeoisie in Limerick, and the two groups together forged a new Irish Liberal ideology and political grouping.

The transformation of religious and social Liberalism among the rural gentry in Limerick, into a Liberal political ideology, took place in the urban political arena of Limerick City between 1812 and 1820. The Limerick Corporation was at the centre of this urban political arena, because it played a pivotal role in shaping economic conditions within the City, in distributing local finances and patronage, and in controlling the composition of the parliamentary electorate. In the preceding twenty years, the Vereker family had succeeded in gaining control of the Corporation and, consequently, the parliamentary borough seat, by refusing admission to Catholics, Dissenters, Protestant supporters of Catholic relief, and those who were economically and politically allied with the other major aristocratic family in the City, the Perys.[2] The Liberal gentry were able to mould these disparate groups together into a 'party'

---

[1] Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997). See also Joseph Spence, 'The Philosophy of Irish Toryism, 1833-52' (PhD, London, 1991), who explains the development of a unified Irish Conservative Party during the 1840s, around the issue of Protestant defense.

[2] The leading figure of the Vereker family at this time was John Prendergast Smyth (Lord

alliance, on a political platform of Catholic Emancipation and Corporation Reform. A combined legal and political assault resulted in Thomas Spring Rice winning the parliamentary seat for the Liberals in 1820 and retaining it for the next twelve years. This emerging political Liberalism revolved around twin aims: building of a stable, legitimate, and virtuous Irish elite; and developing a non-denominational Christian polity. These ideas were drawn from the religious ideas and social reform ideology that was developed by the Liberal gentry in the rural context, but they also satisfied the needs of the Catholic bourgeoisie in Limerick City and were reinforced by economic interests.

The debates in Limerick City are important in Irish political history, because they challenge us to re-think the assumption that Irish politics in this period are best explained by a long-running conflict between a Protestant 'Tory' elite and a Catholic Nationalist populace. Among the best assessments of early nineteenth-century politics in Ireland is Thomas Bartlett's explanation of the transformation of the Irish political nation from an eighteenth-century Protestant nation, to one vested in the Catholic populace in the nineteenth century. Seeking to confine itself to the emergence of the 'Catholic question' as a political issue in the 'long eighteenth century', nevertheless *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation* also involves a powerful assessment of the irrevocable transformations in Irish politics that were wrought by the Penal Laws, the 1798 Rebellion, the subsequent Act of Union between Britain and Ireland in 1801, and by the emergence of popular politics and Catholic Nationalism in the first third of the nineteenth century. In the process, Bartlett explains how disagreements within the eighteenth-century elite must be considered, because they made it possible for Catholics to seek redress of their grievances in the political arena.[3] Other treatments of eighteenth-century Ireland, like Sean Connolly's *Religion, Law, and Power* show a similar awareness that political and social

---

Gort), who was Chamberlain of the Corporation until his death in 1817. At that time, his son Charles Vereker (MP at the time, and Colonel in the Limerick Militia) succeeded his father to the title and was also appointed Chamberlain of the Limerick Corporation. Charles' brother-in-law, John Prendergast Vereker replaced Charles as MP for Limerick City in the 1817 bye election and was a Major in the Limerick Militia. Brian M. Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin, 1978), 22, 26. The leading figure of the Pery family was Edmond Henry Pery (Earl of Limerick). His son, Henry Harstonge Pery (Lord Glentworth) retreated to England in 1814, and the Earl's son-in-law Thomas Spring Rice, assumed local leadership of the Pery group (see below).

[3] Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992).

debates in this period cannot be wholly explained by the portrayal of a simplistic binary conflict between a unified Protestant elite and an equally unified Catholic populace.[4] However, the emergence of O'Connellite Catholic Nationalism and of a virulent Protestant response, has dominated political histories of Ireland of the first half of the nineteenth century. This has had the unfortunate effect of obscuring the range of political groups and the complexity of debates between them.[5] Some historians are beginning to address this problem, for example Vincent Geoghegan who has provided a useful treatment of Irish socialism in this period, and who also comments on how and why this movement has disappeared from our historical awareness.[6] The emergence of a powerful and influential version of Liberalism among the elite and bourgeoisie, both Protestant and Catholic, has, however, been largely ignored.[7] This may well be because its existence does not fit very easily with an assumed binary divide between Protestant elite and Catholic populace, and because Irish Liberals were in the long-run unsuccessful in sustaining their position in Irish politics.[8]

Evidence that an important group of Irish Liberals emerged in the 1820s means that Irish

---

[4] S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: the Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992).

[5] For general treatments of the period, see M.A.G. O Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine 1798-1848* (Dublin, 1990, 2nd ed.), ch. 2: 'The Catholic Question', 42-79 and D. George Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability* (Dublin, 1990), ch.2: 'The Catholic Question and Protestant Answers, 1808-29', 34-57.

[6] Vincent Geoghegan, 'The emergence and submergence of Irish Socialism, 1821-51' in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* (London and New York, 1993), 100-22.

[7] Jacqueline Hill has suggested that there was a significant Liberal minority in the Dublin Corporation in this period. Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 364-5. However, both d'Alton and Jupp and Royle ignore Liberalism as a significant factor in Cork. Jupp and Royle's figures show that in the four contested elections between 1812 and 1826, almost half of the freeman votes were cast in favour of candidates who were either not identified with Protestant Toryism, or were actively opposed to it. Jupp and Royle argue that this represents a growing 'Catholic' political interest, but it can also be interpreted as evidence for a strand of Liberal Protestant voting behaviour (since freemen were nearly all Protestant), which they have largely ignored. Peter J. Jupp and Stephen A. Royle, 'The social geography of Cork City elections, 1801-30', *IHS* 29:113 (May 1994), 13-43. See also Peter J. Jupp, 'Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1800-20', *HJ* 10:2 (1967), 183-96; Ian d'Alton, *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork 1812-1844* (Cork, 1980); This possibility needs further examination, but is corroborated by other contemporary evidence. See C.G. Doran, 'Some unpublished records of Cork', *JCHAS* 1a, 51-75 (extracts from diary of John Young).

[8] Unfortunately, Theodore Hoppen, whose general treatment of nineteenth-century Irish politics is an honourable exception to the usual binary approach, failed to recognise the role played by Irish Liberalism. This may well be a result of his 1832 starting date, which meant that he has relied on existing treatments of the key 1820s decade. K.T. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1984).

historians have to be much more careful about the broad-brush assumption that elite economic interests and the defence of their own power meant that when under pressure the elite inevitably acted together, in defence of Protestant Ascendancy. New circumstances and adjustments after the Union did not produce a unified elite opposition to Irish Nationalism. Instead, Irish politics in the first half of the century comprised a series of loose and shifting groupings around key individuals or families, each of which developed characteristic ideological approaches or political platforms that were designed to appeal to the remainder of the electorate. In certain key elections the candidates had to take a stance on political issues such as Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Union in order to attract Catholic votes. However, for much of the remaining time electoral contests were fought over different approaches to the problems of maintaining elite power, of controlling the composition of the body politic, of dealing with popular opposition, and of adapting to the new circumstances of the Union. The existence of a range of political groupings within the elite meant that Irish elections frequently were not confined to 'Tory' versus O'Connellite clashes. Electoral contests were frequently three-cornered, where the trailing candidate typically withdrew before the election or before the final day of voting. In these contests, the most virulent political competition could just as easily be between Liberal and O'Connellite candidates for the 'Catholic vote', or between Liberal and 'Tory' candidates for the 'Protestant vote', as between Liberal and 'Tory'.

Irish and English historians must also reassess the way different ideologies and political groupings among Irish politicians affected Westminster politics. Between the 1820s and 1840s O'Connell deliberately presented Irish politics as a clear-cut binary conflict between the 'Tory' Protestant elite and the Irish Catholic populace, and he implied that all non-Tory Irish politicians supported him. English historians have frequently taken his lead, in part because this has meant that they did not have to deal with the complexities of the Irish political environment. However, O'Connell's stance was adopted for rhetorical and political purposes, and should not be accepted uncritically. In reality, O'Connell's leadership of Irish parliamentarians was not as uncontested as he suggested. In the period from the 1830s to the 1870s, the largest group of Irish MPs consistently identified themselves as Liberal (against the two other categories of Tory

or Conservative, and Repealer or Nationalist).[9] Though Liberals and O'Connellites co-operated on some issues of social, religious, and Corporation reform, they did so from quite different viewpoints. These differences meant that O'Connell could not rely on Irish Liberal support unequivocally, nor did Irish Liberalism merge seamlessly with the Repeal movement.[10] Spring Rice, in particular, was incensed at O'Connell's claim to lead all non-Tory Irish parliamentarians, and he was appalled at the Liberal-Whig government's formal alliance with O'Connell on this basis in 1835.

Eighteenth-century Irish Patriots embraced Unionism in the 1820s because they saw the Union as the best means of defending a Protestant polity in Ireland.[11] Most Liberal gentlemen and many wealthy Catholics were also Unionist in this period, but for different reasons. They saw the Union as a way for achieving change within Ireland, despite opposition from those groups among the elite that they considered corrupt, and as a result they continued to seek influence over Irish policy within the British State.[12] However, during the 1840s, when many Liberals felt disillusioned about their capacity to influence the British State some, like William Smith O'Brien, embraced the Repeal movement and ultimately became Nationalist. Other Liberals continued to support the Union, despite its inadequacies. In one sense, then, Unionism or Nationalism in the pre-Famine period should be seen as different methods of solving particular Irish problems, and not simply as ends in themselves.

---

[9] It is important to distinguish between Irish Liberals in the south and Ulster Liberals, whose ideology can be discerned from the *Northern Whig* and which had somewhat different roots from that examined here. Even so southern Irish Liberals like Bourke and Spring Rice saw Ulster Liberals like William Porter and his brother-in-law, Frank Dalzell Finlay (founding editor of the *Northern Whig*) as compatible, and were instrumental in putting them forward for key administrative, legal, and colonial posts when the Whigs came into power in the 1830s. See, for example, J.L. McCracken, *New Light at the Cape of Good Hope: William Porter, the father of Cape Liberalism* (Belfast, 1993). Sir James Emerson Tenant, too, was a close compatriot of the Limerick Liberals (see Chapter 6).

[10] Maura Murphy, 'Municipal Reform and the Repeal Movement in Cork 1833-44', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* vol.81 (Jan.-Dec. 1977), 16-17; Angus Macintyre, *The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish party, 1830-1847* (London, 1965), 120-2.

[11] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 330-54.

[12] The political aspects of Unionism are discussed below. The wider question of national identity is discussed in Chapter 6.

I. Limerick City, 1801-15: Urban Politics After the Union

Political Union with England and Scotland changed the way Irish politics worked, and thus forced the elite to re-group among themselves. Eighteenth-century politics had been localised, and in some respects this local emphasis continued well into the nineteenth century. However, the Union added a new layer to Irish politics, which meant that local issues and political relations were now affected by parliamentary politics in Westminster. The Irish elite represented a small minority of the United Kingdom Parliament which therefore found it more difficult to influence parliamentary politics. In addition, the removal of the Irish government from Dublin to London disrupted the patronage circles that had developed around Dublin Castle prior to the 1798 Rebellion, and made it more difficult for the Irish elite to influence Irish policy directly. These conditions also produced changes in the way political struggles between Irish elite families were fought.

Participation in the British Parliament had the effect of further widening Irish circles of political patronage so that they fitted with English political groupings. It also had the effect of encouraging Irish politicians to conform more closely to English political labels. However, Irish political culture was complicated by the fact that English labels did not adequately reflect political groupings or ideologies within Ireland. In the first half of the century, it is misleading to conclude that Irish politicians can be neatly divided into Whigs and Tories, supporters or opposers of Catholic Emancipation, or Unionists and Nationalists. Nor can it be assumed that the Union suddenly meant that the major English political ideologies were neatly transmitted to Ireland. On the contrary, political alliances developed between those who found they had similar responses to key issues, such as Catholic Emancipation, Coercion, or Corporation Reform, or who had economic interests in common, and these alliances were made and re-made to suit changing economic and political circumstances. As a result, Irish political ideologies developed in response to Irish circumstances and to the particular needs of the Irish elite.

Secondly, although parliamentary representatives were nearly all members of the elite until well into the second half of the nineteenth century, the Irish elite as a whole increasingly found their control over electoral politics threatened from below. The development of O'Connellite techniques of popular pressure undermined the elite's political control by

disrupting the old assumptions that governed forty-shilling freeholder voting. Furthermore, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century Catholic and Dissenting bourgeoisies emerged in large urban centres like Limerick and Cork, and followed the pattern of consolidation and extension of their economic power that had taken place in Dublin twenty years before. Limerick was an important market and trading port for its rural hinterland, and it experienced a boom during the Napoleonic Wars because of its role in supplying provisions for Britain's army.[13] This favoured Catholics and Dissenters in particular, because they dominated the merchant and trades groups (in contrast to Cork or Dublin, whose merchants and tradesmen were more likely to be Church of Ireland).[14] This new wealth brought with it a bourgeois demand for a share of local political power in the Corporation and the borough seat, which in turn represented a challenge to the idea of Protestant Ascendancy as a whole, and to the particular families that sought to defend a wholly Protestant polity.

Long-term changes in the local economy included a shift from 'frize' to coarse English clothes which was well underway by this period, an abortive attempt by the Liberals to re-establish linen manufacture and limited success in establishing small-scale textile manufacturing in the region, and a gradual shift from grain production toward grazing.[15] The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 accentuated the difficulties that accompanied these adjustments, by producing a sharp decline in the provisions trade which affected grain, cattle and clothing industries in particular, which were the mainstays of the Limerick economy. There has been historical dispute about the extent and duration of this downturn, and its long-term effect on the Irish economy as a whole.[16] However, in Limerick at least, it is clear that the

---

[13] Cormac OGrada, 'Poverty, population, and agriculture, 1801-45' in *NHI* v. 133.

[14] Because Limerick's Protestants formed a much smaller portion of the population than in Cork, Catholic merchants, tradesmen, bankers, and land agents were able to take advantage of this boom. There has been no detailed analysis of the Limerick City electorate in the 1820s, such as that provided by Jupp and Royle for Cork City. However, in Cork at least, about 65 percent of the electorate were gentlemen, professionals, merchants, manufacturers, and retailers in the 1820s. Jupp and Royle, 'Cork City elections, 1801-30', 25.

[15] Louis Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1972, 2nd ed.), 113. Liberals tried to re-establish and expand manufacturing in Limerick, but were largely unsuccessful (see Chapter 4).

[16] Raymond Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production* (Cork, 1966) *cf.* O Grada's argument that the magnitude and length of this downturn was exaggerated by the landed interest, and by modern historians. Cormac O Grada, *Ireland: a new economic history 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994), 158-62.

contrast between the war-time boom and the post-war crisis had an immediate effect on the City's merchants and tradesmen, and on the rural gentry. This effect was accentuated by the return of soldiers and officers on half-pay, many of whom had been drawn from local minor gentry families, and by the crop failures and severe but regular food shortages in the early 1820s. These conditions provided an increased incentive for merchants and tradesmen, and excluded rural gentlemen, to achieve power in local government and thus exert greater influence on trading conditions within the City. One response was to establish a Chamber of Commerce in 1815, which was formed specifically to protect the business interests of the Pery group and the bourgeoisie against the Corporation, as well as to control pilotage on the Shannon River.[17]

Local economic changes and fluctuations were therefore important in explaining the political mobilisation of a new alliance of merchants, guilds, tradesmen, urban professionals, and gentry, who had both economic interests and exclusion from the Corporation in common. This bourgeoisie represented a new opportunity for political alliance among elite families that found themselves excluded from local and parliamentary power. Liberals in Limerick were committed to reform, but rejected Radicalism and Democratic political institutions, which they believed lacked the constitutional checks and balances of a mixed system of government. As Spring Rice argued in 1827,

> In the condition of society in which we are placed, I am not inclined to prefer democratic institutions to those of a constitutional monarchy; but, if we are to have a republic in Ireland, let our presidents and vice-presidents be responsible; our senates and houses of representatives duly elected; our public officers controlled by recognised laws, collecting legal taxes, and administering equal justice. [O'Connell's would be] of a far different character; he, who bids highest for popularity - he, whose eloquence is the most exciting, is the ruler of the minute.[18]

Liberal leaders were also implacably opposed to O'Connell's political techniques and 'declaiming harangues'.[19]

---

[17] Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick; its history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil, and military* (Cork, 1967 [1866]), 463; D.P. O'Connor, 'History and Functions of the Limerick Chamber of Commerce 1807 to 1902' (unpublished ms, 1948); *The charter and bye laws of the Limerick Chamber of Commerce* (Limerick, 1815); 1835 (23) xxvii. *First Report of the Commissioners to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland*, 408; Chamber of Commerce Minute Books, MWRAL.

[18] *Catholic Emancipation Considered*, 14-15.

[19] Richard Bourke, Letter to the Editor (draft, re: 1818 election), 19 Dec. 1817, Bourke papers,

Despite this conflict between Liberal leaders and O'Connell, Limerick's merchants and tradesmen until 1832 were happy to endorse a Liberal reform movement that offered bourgeois involvement in the polity regardless of religious affiliation. In addition, O'Connell supported the Liberals in Limerick elections throughout the 1812 to 1829 period, despite Spring Rice's 'indignant chafing'.[20] This was important because the urban Catholic bourgeoisie in Munster provided a large proportion of Catholic Association funding in this period, partly because the Catholic Association and the Liberals were working co-operatively in Limerick City. Such funding was not forthcoming in the later 1830s and 1840s, in part because of a severe recession in the 1840s. Perhaps even more important in this withdrawal was the bourgeoisie's increasing concern that the Repeal Association was becoming too radical, and that its aims were no longer consistent with their own desire to protect their new-found economic and political power.[21]

The 'Catholic vote' cannot be considered as unified in this period. In the rural setting, O'Connell's claim on the Catholic vote was based on landless labourers and small tenants in the main. Popular politics among this group most frequently gained expression in faction fighting in the early- to mid-1820s, but they became much more unified under O'Connell when he won the Ennis election in 1828. In Spring Rice's parish of Shanagolden, County Limerick, the O'Brien, McMahon, Griffin and Sheahan factions celebrated O'Connell's election by declaring an 'armistice', and instead converged on the parish church where they hung green banners.[22] However, O'Connell's claim on the rural Catholic poor was not matched by a claim on urban Catholic voters, where the 'Catholic vote' was more focused on the economic and religious interest groups of the Catholic tradesmen and merchants.

NLI ms 8478/1. This was probably a letter to the *Limerick Chronicle* or the *Limerick Evening Post*, where most election material was published.

[20] Sir Stephen Edward de Vere to Thomas Spring Rice (2nd Baron Monteagle), 27 July [c.1896], Monteagle papers in possession of Lord Monteagle. See also *Ennis Chronicle*, 24 June 1826 for Catholic Association support of Spring Rice in the Limerick City election.

[21] Even members of O'Connell's own family, including his brother John, were opposed to his agitation for the Repeal after Catholic Emancipation. John O'Connell to Maurice Fitzgerald (Knight of Kerry), 26 Nov. 1833, Fitzgerald papers, PRONI, T3075/13.

[22] *Limerick Evening Post and Clare Sentinel*, 11 July 1828. See also Gary Owens, '"A moral insurrection": faction fighters, public demonstrations and the O'Connellite campaign, 1828', *IHS* 30:120 (Nov. 1997), 513-44.

Despite this limited direct influence on the urban electorate, Catholic mobilisation and clerical involvement in politics had a dramatic effect on urban politics in ideological terms. It challenged and reinforced the Vereker group's defensive stance on continuing exclusion of Catholics and supporters of Catholic Emancipation from the Corporation, and their general defence of a Protestant Constitution and an exclusively Protestant elite. Therefore, Limerick battles over Corporation and Vereker family power must be seen in the wider context of the O'Connell's attack on Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland as a whole and in the Dublin Corporation specifically, and in Munster where popular Catholic Nationalism was strongest.

The role of Limerick Corporation

Limerick Corporation was the hub of borough electoral politics, economic conditions, elite family power, and religious debate in the City. It set port charges, market tolls, and duties, which were all fundamental to the urban economy. Corporation freemen were exempt from paying port charges and market tolls, and so had a marked economic advantage over non-freemen. The Corporation also controlled appointment to the Grand Jury, through nomination of the High Sheriff. As the 1835 Inquiry explained,

> The selection of grand jurors was for many years a serious and just subject of complaint by the inhabitants, as being almost exclusively taken from the members and supporters of the common council, and, with few exceptions, confined to Protestants. ... There are generally about 10 or 12 of the same individuals on every grand jury.[23]

This had important legal implications. Despite the fact that Catholics had been eligible to serve on Grand and Petty Juries since 1793, their presence was rare. As Thomas Moore argued in 1824, Sheriffs were invariably Protestant and this meant that

> the Catholic's chance of ever appearing on those tribunals, [was] at the mercy of the same "disinheriting countenance," which frowns him out of his rights wherever it encounters him. Accordingly, there are some Counties were no Roman Catholic has ever been on a jury, when a person of his own religion was to be tried.'[24]

Many Catholics argued that they could never get a fair trial from a Protestant Jury, and that the rule of law was far from impartial. There were many highly publicised examples of Protestant

---

[23] 1835 (23) xxvii. *First Report of the Commissioners to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland*, 371-2.

[24] [Moore, Thomas], *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the celebrated Irish chieftain. with some account of his ancestors. written by himself* (Paris, 1824), 283.

juries acquitting Protestants and convicting Catholics, regardless of evidence. In addition, Richard Bourke and many other magistrates, argued that the rule of law was frequently hampered by Factions which intimidated witnesses and juries.[25] Bourke, Spring Rice, Barrington and other members of the Liberal gentry fought a continuing battle to establish impartial court procedures (albeit within the auspices of a British legal system) for both Protestants and Catholics in this period.

In addition, the Grand Jury and the Corporation together controlled the public funds that Liberal Protestants needed in order to achieve their social reforms, and it also controlled the management of most local institutions, including gaols, hospitals and some schools. The Grand Jury possessed a substantial capacity for local patronage, through its power to make local appointments (for example, Governor of the City Goal). Thus if one of the major aristocratic families could establish control over the Corporation, this brought substantial economic benefits, capacity for patronage, and prestige. This control was achieved by Edmond Sexton Pery (later Speaker in the Irish Parliament) in 1761, but by 1794 the Vereker family had regained dominance. By 1801 economic conditions and official appointments within the boundaries of the City of Limerick were substantially controlled by the Vereker family, and by 1817 Pery complained that 'all the states [official appointments], revenues, and privileges of the city of Limerick had been grasped ... by one man', Lord Gort.[26] The extent of the Vereker family's control over the Corporation was greater than that achieved by a single family in either Dublin or Cork.[27]

The Pery family had in the 1760s consolidated their influence within Newtownpery instead of in the Old City where the intermarried Smyth, Prendergast and Vereker families reigned. This new settlement had been established on and around Pery's land and outside the City boundaries, so as to avoid Corporation control, and it quickly attracted most of the

---

[25] 1825 (129) viii. *Report from the [Commons] Select Committee on the State of Ireland*, 325 (Bourke's evidence).

[26] This was in response to Charles' Vereker's appointment as Chamberlain of the Corporation, in his father's place (when the former Lord Gort died). Quoted in R.B. MacDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution, 1760-1801* (Oxford, 1979), 115. See also 1835 (23) xxvii. *First Report on ... Municipal Corporations of Ireland*, 358.

[27] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 363-4; d'Alton, *Protestant Society in Cork*, 88-119.

business community. This separation had its disadvantages, since Newtownpery merchants still had to deal with the Corporation when their goods passed through the port, and they had to pay market and gate-tolls unless they were Corporation freemen. Thus exclusion from the Corporation remained an economic liability.

It was in 1811-12 that the conflict between the Pery and Vereker interests began to escalate again. In 1808 Pery had brought forward a private bill 'for the improvement of St Michael's parish', which gave formal control of Newtownpery to a body of St Michael's Commissioners, and which completed the Perys' avoidance of Corporation control.[28] Despite Vereker's opposition in the House of Commons, this bill succeeded, and it formalised the control that the Pery family already exerted through the parish vestry.[29] The Vereker family tried to extend Corporation controls over Newtownpery again in 1811-12, in order to consolidate their dominance over Limerick City. This failed, but it sparked a renewed battle for control of local government between the two dominant local families which took the form of a legal battle over admissions to the Corporation, and an electoral battle for control of the parliamentary seat. This competition was transformed by the emergence of a Liberal ideology and leadership, which attracted Pery patronage and united the various anti-Vereker groups.

In addition to the economic advantages, prestige, and potential for patronage that accompanied acceptance into the Corporation, freemen also possessed the right to vote in borough elections. During the 1790s, in response to the pressure for Catholic Relief, there were wholesale admissions of Protestant freemen who were willing to support the Vereker family in their opposition to Catholic relief (in contrast to the Pery family who, theoretically at least, supported Catholic Relief). Many of these admissions were soldiers from the Limerick Militia which was commanded by Lord Gort, and then by his son Charles.[30] One result was that the Vereker family exerted sufficient influence within the Corporation by 1794 to win both borough

---

[28] 1822 (617) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Relating to the Local Taxation of the City of Limerick*, 4, 19.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] 1822 (617) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Relating to the Local Taxation of the City of Limerick*, 82-3 (Matthew Barrington's evidence) and 56-7 (Henry d'Esterre's evidence); see also Jacqueline Hill, 'The Politics of Privilege: the Dublin Corporation and the catholic question, 1792-1823', *Maynooth Review* 7 (1982), 17-36.

seats in the Irish Parliament, and continued to control the single borough seat after the Act of Union. The other main result of these new admissions was that non-resident freemen composed more than half the total borough electorate for the whole of the period between 1794 and 1820.[31] This contrasted with Dublin, where freemen comprised some 90 percent of the electorate, but only 10 percent of these were not resident in the City or the suburbs of Dublin.[32] In the two most important elections of the period, 1817 and 1820, John Prendergast Vereker's victory was achieved as a direct result of support from non-resident freemen.[33] In 1820, William Howley referred to these non-resident freemen as

> Gort freemen - a species of livestock fed upon the estate of a Noble Lord, for purposes of political servility and Corporate aggrandisement.[34]

The Parliamentary Inquiry into the 1820 Limerick Election accepted that Limerick Corporation freemen, and especially non-resident freemen, had nearly always voted in favour of the Vereker candidate in borough elections, for the whole of the period between 1792 and 1820.[35] Therefore, in Limerick, even more than in most Irish boroughs, control of the Corporation was the decisive factor in overall political control, both at local and parliamentary government levels.[36]

---

[31] The Limerick City electorate numbered around 1200 voters prior to the Irish Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832, and then rose to around 4,000 voters (from a total population of 66,575 in 1832). The Limerick County electorate approached 6,000 voters prior to 1829 when the forty-shilling freehold franchise was abolished, and after 1832 it numbered only around 1600 voters (from a total population of 233,505 in 1832). Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland*, 291-4.

[32] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 296.

[33] 1819 (77) iv. Report from the Select Committee on the County of Limerick Election. Limerick City was only entitled to one parliamentary seat between 1801 and 1831 (unlike Cork which had two seats), so there was much greater political pressure on that seat.

[34] *Limerick Chronicle*, 12 April 1820. William Howley was Limerick Catholic lawyer who campaigned for the Liberals and assisted Matthew Barrington in the Liberal court cases against the Corporation (see below).

[35] 1820 (229) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Limerick [City] Election Petition*. See also Begley, *Diocese of Limerick*, 418. The Corporation records were destroyed in 1820 as a result of Spring Rice's success in gaining a House of Commons inquiry into the Corporation's role in the election, and no poll books survive for the period.

[36] *cf.* Ian d'Alton's work on Cork in the same period, which leads him to dismiss the contemporary belief that the Corporation had a crucial electoral role, and to conclude that local families were able to control local politics without resorting to the Corporation. *Protestant Society*, 112-13. This comment is to some extent counteracted by the overall argument in his chapter on 'The Unreformed Municipal Corporations' (88-119), and in particular by his comment that Shannon's political hegemony in the electoral battle between Lords Shannon and Ponsonby between 1801 and 1822, 'depended entirely on his control of the corporation'. 117

Exclusion from Corporations throughout Ireland had an important religious element in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Catholics were systematically excluded from the Limerick Corporation, as they were in other major Corporations such as Dublin and Cork. Since over 90 percent of Limerick's emerging middle class of tradesmen, professionals and merchants were Catholic, and many of the remaining were Dissenters (especially Quakers), this socio-economic group was disproportionately excluded.[37] In contrast, Protestant members of the Guilds and Trades were an important political group in the Dublin and Cork Corporations and electorates, and formed a much larger proportion of that economic group.[38] In practice, Limerick Protestants who supported Catholic Emancipation were also excluded from the Corporation, and these included Thomas Spring Rice and Matthew Barrington, Lord Glentworth (Pery's son), James O'Sullivan, and John Tuthill (both Protestant tradesmen).[39]

Liberals in Limerick tended to focus on City instead of County politics. In the rural setting, gentry socialised with each other through the parish Church, Magistrates Courts, and family and patronage connections. In general gentry social circles were confined to particular localities, except where intermarried families made a particular effort. However, Limerick City's role as a market and port for the rural hinterland, meant that the City provided the main opportunities for the rural gentry to meet with other County Limerick gentry beyond their parish circles, and also with merchants, tradesmen, professionals (especially lawyers and doctors). The degree to which this broke down during the Cholera crises, when the gentry confined themselves to their estates and their immediate localities, shows how important the City was as a venue for County-wide interactions.[40] The rural gentry also participated in the institutional life of the city, and Liberals in particular were involved in the County Gaol, Lunatic Asylum, Hospitals, Lending Libraries and Agricultural Associations which were based in the City.

---

n.80.

[37] 1835 (23) xxvii. *Report of the Commissioners to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland.*

[38] For Dublin, see Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 295.

[39] In Limerick the remainder of the merchants and tradesmen were Quaker, and though Dissenters had been legally eligible to participate in Irish Corporations since 1780, in practice they continued to be excluded.

[40] *Historical records of the existence and progress of cholera in the city of Limerick during the months of May and June, 1832* (Limerick, 1832); Kevin Hannan, 'The 1832 Cholera Epidemic', *OLJ* 24 (Winter 1988), 48-50.

Liberals focused their social and business lives on the Commercial Buildings, the Chamber of Commerce, and also on the Quarterly Assizes and Grand Jury meetings. Of these, the Commercial Buildings were the most important social and business venue for Limerick Liberals. Built in 1805, they were owned by one hundred share-holders of local merchants, tradesmen, professionals, and local gentry. They contained a Coffee and Meeting Room which was the venue of most social and business meetings among Limerick's business community, for all the official Independent Committee meetings, for Spring Rice's electoral operations, and were the destination of his Chairing parade.[41] These buildings also housed the Chamber of Commerce (established in 1815), the *Limerick Evening Post* headquarters and printery, and a lending library for the intellectual and moral improvement of tradesmen. At least one Freemason Lodge also met there, perhaps because this was one of the few venues where men of all Christian denominations could mix freely. It was also one of very few venues where local Quaker families could mix with the commercial and Liberal social milieu, without participating in politics directly. Conversely, the more exclusive Limerick Club was established in 1811, in direct opposition to the Commercial Buildings' Coffee Room, and it became the primary venue for those people and organisations associated with the Vereker group. It became the unofficial headquarters of Limerick Tories during the 1830s.[42] The Vereker group also met at the Assizes and Grand Jury meetings, but beyond this they focused their social and business lives in the City on the Corporation (especially at Common Council meetings) and the Corn Exchange.

In electoral terms, Limerick's borough parliamentary seat had greater potential for a Liberal electoral challenge than did the County parliamentary seats. The County seats were tightly controlled by the largest landowners (in Limerick and Clare these were Lords Clare, Lansdowne, and Kingston), because the electorate was dominated by forty-shilling freeholders, whose voting was controlled by their landlords.[43] In 1826 the Catholic Association proved that it

---

[41] 'The Chairing of Thomas Spring Rice' (oil painting by William Turner, 1820), see p.145 above. Original in the Limerick Chamber of Commerce, who commissioned the painting to commemorate the role of the business community in Spring Rice's electoral success. The procession was described in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 July 1820.

[42] 'J.B.', *The County Club Limerick: a short history of a hundred years of club life* (Dublin, [c.1913]), 6-7, 40.

[43] The small borough seat of Ennis in County Clare was also composed of forty-shilling freeholders and was not controlled by Ennis Corporation. This was one reason that O'Connell chose this seat for his 1828 challenge, even though the incumbent (William Vesey Fitzgerald)

could win elections by persuading forty-shilling freeholders to vote against their landlords' wishes. However, it was inconceivable that Liberals would use such techniques in localities where they were landlords themselves. Furthermore, the complex patterns of land ownership and tenancy meant that the gentry were often tenants as well as landowners, and consequently owed deference to the major aristocratic and landlord figures.[44] In contrast, in Limerick City the freeholders were mostly Catholic tradesmen and relatively few owed allegiance to the large rural landowners. As a result, although O'Connell and the Catholic Association did provide support for Spring Rice until the mid-1820s (despite Spring Rice's extreme discomfort), Spring Rice's success depended much more on reducing the number of Corporation freemen voters than it did on O'Connell's support.[45] O'Connell used the Limerick Assizes Cases of 1813-1819 as a model for similar legal challenges to the Dublin Corporation, between 1818 and 1826, and, as the *Dublin Evening Post* pointed out, the Parliamentary Inquiry into the 1820 Limerick Election set an Irish precedent when it disallowed the votes of non-resident freemen.[46]

---

was a supporter of Catholic Emancipation.

[44] For example, Richard Bourke rented land adjoining his estates from Lord Clare, and hoped eventually to purchase this land. Thus he owed political support to Clare. This did not stop him from seconding Aubrey de Vere's candidature in the 1820 County Limerick election, in opposition to Colonel Richard Fitzgibbon (Lord Clare's brother). Since there were two County seats, Bourke was able to satisfy his obligation to Lord Clare with one vote and used the other in favour of de Vere. *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 Mar. 1820. It is likely that this patronage link was one of the reasons for Bourke's decision not to contest a County Limerick seat at the 1841 election, in opposition to Lord Clare's son, despite the offer of backing and financial support from Lord Lansdowne. (His public reason was a facial war wound which made it difficult for him to speak in public.) Bourke to Spring Rice, 8 June 1841, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/1. Matthew Barrington, too, rented most of the land around Cuppercullen House from Lord Carbery, until 1840 when his family pooled their funds and bought the estate for more than £30,000. Barrington papers, Glenstal Abbey Library, ms 3, f.1,5.

[45] Kieran Sheedy, *The Clare Elections* (Dublin, 1993), 136-137; *Ennis Chronicle*, 27 Mar. 1827.

[46] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 295-6; *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 July 1820.

II. Transformations in Limerick Elite Politics and Liberal Ideology, 1812- 1832

The Liberal Protestant gentry's willingness to champion the political and economic rights of Catholic tradesmen against the Limerick Corporation after 1812, and their support of the Catholic Emancipation campaign, meant that they were able to unify urban Catholics, Dissenters, and Liberal Protestants under a combined 'Independent' banner.[47] This made it possible for Liberal members of the Limerick elite to claim a middle ground in Irish politics, between what they saw as a corrupt and oligarchic aristocracy on one hand, and radical Catholic Nationalism on the other. The resulting Liberal political programme centred on Municipal Reform, Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and Unionism. However, the circumstances which led to the emergence of Irish Liberalism meant that this ideology was expressed in a specifically Liberal Protestant religious language, and that it was shaped by Irish and not English circumstances and debates.

The Perys capitalised on the increasing dissatisfaction at the degree of Vereker success in controlling admission to the Corporation over the thirty-five years leading up to the 1820s, and they encouraged the perception that they were more supportive of this Catholic and Dissenting urban middle class than were the Vereker family. When in 1812 Lord Glentworth (Pery's son), James O'Sullivan and John Tuthill (both tradesmen) were refused entry to the Corporation, the Earl of Limerick set up a formal 'Independent Committee' of twenty-two, chaired by Thomas Spring Rice. Their stated aim was to assist in 'restoring the Rights of the Inhabitants to the Inhabitants' by funding legal battles for admission to the Corporation, and was also to act as an election committee for his son, Lord Glentworth. The Earl of Limerick (Pery) supported the Committee with £1200 in the first instance, and £300 per annum thereafter.[48]

---

[47] 'Independent' referred to independence from oligarchic control, and so closely related to their platform of Corporation Reform. However, this group also identified themselves as Liberal from the 1812 election, and by the mid-1820s the latter label was nearly always used (although some also referred to them by the more problematic term 'Whig').

[48] Tuthill, *Limerick Election,* letters 11 and 6, 4 May 1831 and 28 July 1830. By 1832 Major Vereker had been promoted to Colonel in the Limerick Militia. Richard Bourke was not involved in the Independent Committee in 1812, since he was stationed at Corunna until the end of the Peninsula War in May 1814 where he was Military Resident in Galicia, and a spy-master for Wellington. In June, he was rewarded with promotion to the rank of colonel and a C.B. These activities are documented in the correspondence between Bourke, Wellington, and the Under-

The first step in the Pery group's attempt to regain control was the initiation of a legal battle, through which they hoped to force admissions to the Corporation against the wishes of the Vereker family. Matthew Barrington played a central role as the barrister representing those individuals who challenged the right of the Corporation to refuse them admission to freeman status. These cases were tried at the Clare Assizes in 1813 and 1816 and then at the Kerry Assizes in 1819.[49] Matthew Barrington and his legal partner John Boyse were at first paid by public subscriptions gathered by the Liberal gentry and tradesmen, and then employed by the Independent Committee.[50] The first three cases were heard in the Clare Assizes in March 1813, on behalf of Lord Glentworth and two Protestant tradesmen. The Liberals were able to show that the only people admitted to the Corporation's freedom between 1794 and 1813 were supporters of the Smyth and Vereker families, and that all other applicants had been refused. They argued that these refusals were illegal. The Court upheld their case, and this was widely interpreted as proof that the allegations of Corporation corruption were true.[51] Further legal challenges were successfully mounted in May 1816 on behalf of more Limerick tradesmen, both Protestant and Catholic. However, even winning these cases did not guarantee change,. As Lord Cloncurry commented,

> At the summer assize, 1814, for the county of Limerick, during the investigation of the presentments, perjuries, frauds, and forgeries were clearly proved. No effective steps were taken against any of the criminals, who were left at liberty to attempt anew the plunder of individuals and of the public.[52]

One way that the Council avoided having to implement the Court Order was simply by declining to meet.[53] Moreover, when the Common Council eventually met on 14 January 1819, it took the opportunity to make clear its opposition to this 'vexatious petition', and directed that

---

Secretary of State, War Department 1812-1814, Bourke papers, ML ms A1728. See also account of Bourke's military career in Hazel King, *Richard Bourke* (Melbourne, 1971), chs 1-4.

[49] 11 Mar. 1814, Clare Assizes. Lenihan, *Limerick*, 431-2; John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the present time* (Dublin, 1938), 417-18; It was normal to try cases like these in neighbouring Counties, in order to demonstrate legal impartiality. The next set of cases brought against the Limerick Corporation by the Independents was tried in Kerry in Feb. and May 1820. (229) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Limerick Election*, 39, 45-6, 53-5.

[50] *Ibid.*, 54-5 and see below.

[51] *Limerick Evening Post*, 30 May 1813; Lenihan, *Limerick*, 431-2.

[52] Lawless, Valentin Browne, *Personal Recollections of the Life and Times, with Extracts from the correspondence, of Valentine Lord Cloncurry* (McGlashan, Dublin, 1849), 85.

[53] 1822 (617) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Relating to the Local Taxation of the City of Limerick*, 13-14.

Vereker be provided with all the funds necessary to continue fighting the Corporation's defence of its right to control admission.[54]

The importance of these legal challenges was rhetorical and political more than practical, since they were expensive and time consuming, and resulted in a small number of admissions to the Corporation only. The Liberals used the Clare and Kerry Assizes as a platform from which to publicise their critique of the Vereker group's virtue and to gain political support from the Catholic and Dissenting bourgeoisie. They publicised both the legal cases and 'Independent' political views in an avowedly 'Liberal' newspaper created for the purpose, which was edited by Dan Geary, housed in the Commercial Buildings, and financially supported by leading Limerick Liberals including Richard Bourke.[55] The *Limerick Evening Post* was modelled on the *Dublin Evening Post*, and its motto stated that,

> Among [our] many objectives is the protection of every order of the public [and] every denomination [of the] Christian community from insult [and] injury.[56]

The 'Independents' sought to amass and publish sufficient evidence against the Vereker group and the Corporation as it was currently constituted, so that if an 'Independent' candidate eventually succeeded in being elected, he would have sufficient evidence to call for a parliamentary inquiry. It was hoped that the result would be legislative reform of the Corporation in Limerick and elsewhere as well, and Thomas Spring Rice made these aims into election pledges. In addition, Matthew Barrington and Thomas Spring Rice took a leading role in obtaining a successful prosecution of a Protestant for the kidnap, rape, and murderer of a local Catholic girl in the 'Colleen Bawn trial', which was one of the most sensational legal cases of the period. This trial occurred in the lead-up to the 1820 election, and Spring Rice's role in bringing the defendant to trial was extensively reported by Gerald Griffin in the *Limerick Evening Post*. The incident was used by the Liberals to persuade electors that they could achieve results within the legal system, despite attempts by local Protestants to bend the law to

---

[54] 4 Jan. 1819, Minutes of the Corporation of Limerick, NLI microfilm n5295.

[55] E. Ryan to Bourke, 10 June 1824 Bourke papers, ML ms 403/7. It absorbed the *Clare Sentinel* and was renamed the *Limerick Evening Post and Clare Sentinel* in 1828, and was then renamed the *Limerick Star and Evening Post* in 1834. Unfortunately, only odd issues are available for the period before 1828.

[56] *Limerick Evening Post* (motto on the front page of every edition).

their own purposes.[57] This marked the continuity between the Liberal defence of constitutional reform in the Corporation question and the previous attempts at constitutional social reform made by the rural Liberal gentry (discussed in Chapter 4).

The first election fought after the 'Independent Committee' was formed was in 1812. The 'Independent' candidate, Lord Glentworth, lost to Major John Prendergast Vereker (the then Lord Gort's son-in-law).[58] Glentworth was unable to gain the support of the Catholic tradesmen and merchants against the Vereker group because of a well-founded rumour that both Pery and Glentworth had pledged to oppose Catholic Emancipation in return for their English peerages.[59] Then in 1817 John Tuthill stood as a 'Real Independent' candidate, and as champion to the commercial and tradesmen community. This made the election a three-cornered contest between Tuthill, Major John Prendergast Vereker and Lord Glentworth (despite the fact that the latter was now living in England).[60] Tuthill argued that neither the Vereker nor the Pery families could represent the interests of Limerick's Catholic tradesmen. He brought three main charges against the Corporation and the Vereker family: that they refused to account for the rents and revenues of the City; that the Common Council refused freedom to those who were entitled to it by the Charters, if they were not both Church of Ireland and Vereker supporters; and that City magistrates refused to register the freeholds of those that the Vereker family disapproved. These charges were based on the material generated by the Independent-backed legal cases of the last five years, in which Tuthill had been involved, and he thus made an effective job of taking over the ground that Lord Glentworth claimed. Major John Prendergast Vereker and his brother-in-law, Colonel Charles Vereker (now Lord Gort and Chamberlain of the Corporation), did not attempt to deny any of these charges. Instead, they argued that the Corporation had the right to make the decision about who to admit, without

---

[57] Report by Gerald Griffin in *Limerick Evening Post*, 20 July 1820. Griffin had based his report on Spring Rice's re-telling of his role in bringing John Scanlon to trial in 1819 for the murder of Eily O'Connor. The later pamphlet, *Ellen Hanley or the true history of the Colleen Bawn Trial* (Dublin, 1910), was also based on Spring Rice's version. Monteagle papers in private possession, Lord Monteagle.

[58] Tuthill, *Limerick Election*, letters 11 and 6, 4 May 1831 and 28 July 1830.

[59] *Ibid.*, letter 6, 28 July 1830.

[60] Major John Vereker (younger brother of Charles) stood at first, but quickly withdrew in favour of his brother-in-law Major John Prendergast Vereker.

interference, by virtue of its 'ancient Charter'.[61]

Even more damaging for Glentworth, Tuthill undermined the Pery family claim to the Catholic and commercial vote. He argued that a successful Pery candidate would benefit the Pery family's aristocratic interests only, and would not benefit either tradesmen or merchants. He reminded the electorate that Speaker Pery had not achieved the admission to the Corporation of even one Catholic merchant or tradesman in the period between 1761 and 1786 when he was the Member for Limerick City, while 'hundreds of non-residents were'. His implication was that Pery supported the policy of admitting Church of Ireland applicants only, and indeed Lord Limerick had himself been a non-resident freeman until 1812.[62] As a result, Tuthill gained the support of many Catholic tradesmen and of Matthew Barrington as well. However, he was unable to win the election, despite Glentworth's late withdrawal, because he did not have Pery family patronage and funding, and was consequently unable to attract support from the remainder of the Liberal gentry and merchants. In the following year, Pery transferred all the 'Independent' electoral funds from his son to his son-in-law Thomas Spring Rice, who was unencumbered on the Catholic question. Pery and Spring Rice offered Tuthill a pension of £800 p.a. in exchange for a guarantee that he would not contest the election and hence split the anti-Vereker vote. He refused the offer and stood as a third candidate, but was again unable to muster the resources to fight the election without Pery support, and eventually withdrew. This fruitless squabbling left the 'Independent' forces in disarray, and Spring Rice was forced to withdraw as well, leaving Vereker unopposed.

The elections between 1812 and 1818 forced the Independents to recognise that Limerick's merchants, tradesmen, professionals and minor gentry had to act together if they were to challenge the Vereker family. In order to unite these groups it was necessary for a Liberal candidate to embrace both Catholic Emancipation and Corporation Reform, and also to attract the funding and political support of the Pery family. Since neither Glentworth nor Tuthill could attract the support of all the necessary groups, a new leader had to be found for this coalition of interests. Spring Rice was the obvious candidate: he had established a Liberal

---

[61] Begley, *Diocese of* Limerick, 417-18. (Begley mistakenly cites the Cork assizes).

[62] Tuthill, *Limerick Election*, letter 3, 23 June 1830.

reputation as leader of the Independent Committee, and his marriage to Theodosia Pery had given him access to the vast Pery financial and patronage resources that were necessary in electoral contests. His support of Catholic Emancipation was convincing because he was unencumbered by anti-Catholic pledges and was well-known for his Liberal Protestant views and piety. Finally, he was well-known as a pamphleteer on the question of Grand Jury and Corporation Reform.[63] Bourke's letter 'To the Friends of Reform' in the 1818 election, identified the key attributes that electors should look for in the candidates. First, a candidate should be independent, which meant that he was 'free from sordid considerations, exercising his own judgement'. Second, it was 'reasonable [for a candidate] to 'state political principles but not advantageous to pledge in minute detail'. Third, 'an agent and representative should have the interests of his electors in view and not his own private advantage'. Finally, the candidate should support 'the total removal of the restrictions so injudiciously not to say iniquitously placed upon the Roman Catholicks at the beginning of the last Century'.[64] Spring Rice organised a 'Chairing' parade after the 1818 election, despite having withdrawn, in order to demonstrate the resolution of 'Independent' in-fighting, in which all the important trades groups and guilds marched.[65]

The establishment of Thomas Spring Rice as the Independents' electoral champion after the 1818 election allowed his relatives and friends among the Liberal rural gentry to establish a leading role in shaping the political ideology of the 'Independents' in Limerick City politics. Thomas Spring Rice, Richard Bourke, and Matthew Barrington can be clearly identified as those immediately responsible for masterminding the 1820 election, designing the electoral platform, writing Spring Rice's speeches, and organising his political events. Richard Bourke nominated Spring Rice in 1820, and then became his campaign manager; Matthew Barrington (who had won a reputation as a Liberal by representing the Independents in their legal challenges to the Corporation) was Spring Rice's electoral agent and also took a central role in

---

[63] Spring Rice, *Effects of the Irish Grand Jury Laws.*

[64] Richard Bourke, Letter to the Editor (draft, re: 1818 election), 19 Dec. 1817, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8478/1. This was probably a letter to the *Limerick Chronicle* or the *Limerick Evening Post*, where most election material was published.

[65] *Limerick Chronicle*, 24 July 1818.

presenting Spring Rice's case against Vereker in the ensuing parliamentary electoral inquiry.[66] This trio had all already established firm reputations as 'improving' resident landlords, as Liberal Protestants who supported the full re-integration of Catholics into Irish society and polity, and as active supporters of Corporation Reform and of the commercial community in Limerick. They also operated within a wider circle of Liberal Protestant rural gentry, which included William Smith O'Brien,[67] the de Vere Hunt family, and Quaker business families like the Fishers, Massys, and Harveys.

The political Liberalism that emerged represented an ideological development from the aristocratic Whiggery of the Pery family, and was a direct response to the political circumstances in Limerick which had prevented the Pery group from winning elections between 1812 and 1818. The resolution of these ideological and practical political problems enabled Spring Rice to mount a serious electoral challenge in 1820, using a Liberal rhetoric that was based on the ideas and language that Spring Rice, Bourke, Barrington, and other Liberal Protestants were developing through participation in debates on religion and social reform. Despite the dominance of Corporation freemen in the electorate, the result was close enough to allow Spring Rice to gain a parliamentary inquiry into the election. The Liberals were able to persuade the Select Committee that the Vereker family's dominance over both the Corporation and the Parliamentary seat was illegitimate and corrupt.[68] The Select Committee upheld Spring Rice's claims and found him duly elected. This triumph also helped Spring Rice to substantiate the Liberal case that they could use the British parliament and British legal system to fight Irish battles. While the Vereker group used the parliamentary seat to protect their own interests illegitimately, Spring Rice had pledged that (if elected) he would use the seat to initiate a parliamentary inquiry into corruption in Limerick Corporation, to bring forward a legislative

---

[66] *Limerick Chronicle*, 25 Mar. 1820; 1820 (229) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Limerick Election.*

[67] William Smith O'Brien, Dromoland (second son of Sir Edward O'Brien, younger brother of Sir Lucius O'Brien). When the Marquess of Thomond died in 1855, his title and that of the Earl of Inchiquin became extinct. Sir Lucius O'Brien succeeded in laying claim to the latter, and spent the remainder of his political career in the House of Lords.

[68] 1820 (229) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Limerick Election* and 1835 (23) xxvii. *Report of the Commissioners to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland.* The Corporation was made all the more suspect by their failure to produce the Minute Books of the Common Council which, it emerged, had been burned.

measure of Corporation Reform, and to depose the current incumbents.[69] He presented himself as a candidate of unimpeachable private morality which was based on his well-known Liberal Protestant piety, and therefore as being capable of 'disinterested' public virtue.

Corruption and Liberal Virtue

Criticisms of the personal character and private morality of both Lord Gort and Major Vereker were a mainstay of the Liberal campaign in 1820 (despite occasional disclaimers), and three election squibs were produced that dissected the relative merits of all the Members of the Corporation's Common Council, and of the 'Autocrat' himself.[70] The Liberals took advantage of persistent rumours about Lord Gort's command of the Limerick Militia during an engagement at Coloony on 5 September 1798, when they had been defeated. The Corporation had subsequently praised him for his bravery and the loss of a finger in the fighting, and had also praised him for his actions in 1803 when, as military commandant of the City, he had apparently foiled a surprise attack by 'those engaged in Emmet's conspiracy'. The Corporation had argued that the prompt and decisive measures he adopted on both occasions had prevented revolution, and as a result Limerick had remained a staunch garrison town. However, there was a different version of the 1798 events among local Catholics: apparently he had lost his finger in an accident during the scramble to retreat from the French. 'Verax' recounted this version in the 1820 election, and told electors that

> When at C-l-ny [Coloony] you bore arms -
> Where you the dauntless rebel dar'd,
> Intending no man to have spared; ...
> Strangers would think, rather than yield,
> They bore you breathless from the field;
> But others, nearer home, well know,
> My dear sweet Lord, it was not so -
> You gallop'd *manfully* away,
> Retreat brooks not of much delay, ...
> YOU CAME, you SAW, and then did FLY -
> And this your own sweet self will own,
> It does not lessen your renown,-
> For "he who fights and runs away,
> May live to fight another day."[71]

---

69 *Limerick Chronicle*, 12 April 1820.

70 Election Squib by 'Verax', 22 Mar. 1820, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(7).

71 *Ibid.*

'Verax' accused the Corporation of actively promoting a false version of events because Lord Gort was its Chamberlain, despite their knowledge of the 'real' facts. They presented a version of events in which Vereker lost his finger in heroic defence of the Irish nation. Repetition of this incident served to remind the electors that Charles and John Vereker exerted illegitimate influence over the Corporation, since many of the recent admissions had been members of the garrison, which the Vereker family controlled. The 1798 and 1803 events were associated in local memory with the Limerick Militia's involvement in atrocities against local Catholics throughout the period, and with the continuing involvement of the militia in evictions and the 'control' of agrarian violence in the region.[72] The Liberals used this incident to remind Catholic electors that the Vereker family's staunch defence of Protestant Ascendancy in the Corporation was associated with a history of military action and with coercion against Catholics in particular. This squib also accused John Prendergast Vereker of employing a writer to blacken Spring Rice's name, and claimed that this confirmed his own lack of character. It

> Stamps him a villain void of shame;
> And ill-bred ruffian, mean and base,
> Hated by ALL - to mankind a disgrace.[73]

Spring Rice, Barrington and Bourke also took the evidence against the Corporation that had been generated by legal cases since 1812, and shaped it into a convincing attack on Vereker virtue. This allowed them to challenge the Vereker group's capacity for legitimate rule, and also allowed them to distance themselves from this illegitimacy without denouncing constitutional reform or the notion of rule by a responsible elite. Spring Rice highlighted the evidence of misappropriation of funds, excessive taxes, fraud, and jobbery, and illegitimate control of the electorate; and he also accused John Prendergast Vereker of hiring thugs to intimidate electors and even causing the death of a voter.[74] Greed and personal immorality had made the Vereker group careless of public virtue, and they had bent the entire political system to selfish ends. As Spring Rice told the electorate,

> The blessings of a virtuous constitution should not be bartered for any prize - it is

---

[72] 1825(181) ix. *Select Committee on the State of Ireland Minutes of Evidence,* 141-2 (Daniel O'Connell's evidence); Charles D. Oliver to William Gregory, 1 May 1823, NAI, SOC 1:2517/26. Also see Chapters 2 and 4 above.

[73] Election Squib by 'Verax', 11 April 1820, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(7).

[74] *Limerick Chronicle*, 12 April, 1820.

> the duty of every man to maintain it. Virtue and national happiness are inseparable - take from us our independence and where is virtue? and without virtue there is no happiness.[75]

A corrupt aristocracy had illegitimately usurped the rights of those legally entitled to citizenship and, therefore, 'all our political sufferings' could be attributed to the Corporation.[76] Three years later, Spring Rice wrote to Bourke that

> So long as the people here are true to themselves I will not desert them. You will understand that by true to themselves, I by no means imply any personal preference to me. I mean that steady assertion of their own liberties[,] which can alone keep them out of the hands of the corporations.[77]

One aspect of the Liberal criticism of institutional corruption and political virtue, was that it bore a close relationship to the notions of civic liberty that had been developed by the Scottish political economists.[78] Irish Liberals, like the Scottish political economists, viewed liberty as the 'negative' freedom from corrupt institutions, and also as the 'positive' freedom to participate in the body politic. This kind of liberty required both institutional provision which secured individual liberty under law, and also a political system that was responsive enough to recognise the development of this capacity for political participation. The result would be that the people would be reconciled to government and therefore continued authority and obligation would be guaranteed. This dovetailed with Irish Liberal notions about how to create legitimate elite leadership within Ireland, with help from the British State.

In contrast, John Prendergast Vereker supported a notion of liberty that rested much more exclusively on political obligation, in which Catholics showed their loyalty by accepting the authority of the incumbent elite. Thus he argued that the Common Council had the right to make decisions about whom they admitted to the Corporation, as was guaranteed by the

---

[75] *Limerick Chronicle*, 25 Mar. 1820.

[76] Letter to the Electors, written 10 Feb. 1820 and published in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 12 April 1820 *et al.* This bore a close similarity to the English Liberal-Whig discussion of legitimate and illegitimate influence during the Reform Act debates in 1831 and 1832. See D.C. Moore, *The Politics of Deference: a study in the mid-nineteenth century English political system* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1976).

[77] Spring Rice to Bourke, n.d. [c.Oct. 1823], ML ms 403/8.

[78] Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983); See also Isiah Berlin, 'Two concepts of liberty' in his *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969), 118-72; Alisdair Macintyre, *After Virtue: a study in moral theory* (London, 1981); J.G.A. Pocock, 'Virtues, Rights, and Manners' in *Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge, 1985). See also Abraham D. Kriegal, 'Liberty and Whiggery in early nineteenth-century England', *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980), 253-78.

Corporation's 'ancient charter', and he claimed that the right of non-resident freemen to vote had been upheld by the City's Grand Jury at the last election.[79] Vereker said that that he had acted virtuously as their representative, by providing security in return for the electors' loyalty. On this basis, he reminded them that he had supported the Suppression of Seditious Meetings and Seizure of Arms bills, in order to

> arm the hand of our excellent Government with authority, to suppress the march of that abominable system of rebellion which raged in England, under the name of radicalism, and which, if not destroyed, would involve the country in anarchy and confusion.[80]

He defended himself from the Liberal accusation that he had 'betrayed the trust' of his Irish electors, by arguing that

> It could not be thought that Ireland would be long exempted from the mania which raged in England; therefore, the passing of those bills necessarily became a measure of prevention for this country[81]

Irish Liberal views of liberty also relied upon a language of Christian citizenship which was drawn from the religious debates in Ireland in this period, and it was based on the personal religious views of the Liberal gentry in Limerick who now led the Liberal coalition. They were already known for their criticism of the lack of moral concern and sense of moral duty shown by other resident Ascendancy families, and this critique of aristocratic corruption also drew upon well-established caricatures of that elite as being concerned with drink, horses, and litigation only.[82] They used this emphasis on Christian citizenship, political virtue, and private morality to present themselves as legitimate leaders. For them, liberty was the result of individual Christian citizenship, which involved moral duties and was based on the notion of 'character'.[83]

---

[79] *Limerick Chronicle*, 25 Mar. 1820. See also 1819 (77) iv. Report from the Select Committee on the County of Limerick Election.

[80] *Limerick Chronicle*, 25 Mar. 1820.

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] See, for example, the criticism of eighteenth-century landlords in Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (London, 1809) and *Castle Rackrent* (London, 1801), which gained a new significance after the Union. Maria Edgeworth was a correspondent of Spring Rice's and was generally admired by Limerick's Liberal Protestants.

[83] This notion of 'character' is very similar to the English Liberal notion of character, which also had a religious basis, but which Stefan Collini and Boyd Hilton both see as Evangelical in origin. See Stefan Collini, 'The idea of "character" in Victorian political thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 35 (1985), 29-50; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought* (Oxford, 1988), 7-25.

Liberals argued that both public virtue and the capacity for citizenship derived from this private morality, and that this could be developed (as explained in Chapter 2). In 1818 Bourke had described the moral obligation of citizenship in the 1818 election, when he told electors that:

> To the friends of Reform I would say, that Reform should be begun in every Man's own conduct by a scrutinizing enquiry into the political creed of the Candidate for Parliament and a virtuous and independent vote. ... By a vigilant and persevering attention to the elections more would be effected to their advantage (and this in the most constitutional manner) than by all the declaiming harangues of the most eloquent leaders of the Catholick board.[84]

In the 1820 election Spring Rice also told electors that if they voted for Vereker they were avoiding the moral responsibilities of citizenship, by allowing the continued corruption of public institutions. Such an action would show that they were,

> willing to resign that liberty, without which individual character ceases to be dignified, and private happiness to be secure; - without which, public prosperity can only be fictitious, and national glory defensive and transitory.[85]

The Chairing parade which celebrated Spring Rice's victory in the 1820 election and the ensuing parliamentary inquiry, was replete with Liberal images of virtue and symbols of their triumph against corruption, and it used important religious symbols that reflected the language of inter-denominational Christian citizenship. In addition, the Chairing parade and the painting which commemorated it, were designed to show the support of the various individuals and groups that formed the Liberal alliance. Spring Rice rode in a carriage which was drawn by the tenantry of Lord Clare and Richard Bourke, and 'was received under a triumphal arch of laurel and evergreens, by the Committee of Independents and the united body of Free Tradesmen.' The procession included a 'Car, Bearing Adam and Eve in Paradise, attended by an Angel with a drawn sword, with her back to the procession, and the motto "No impurity shall enter here."' Richly decorated banners of thirty-four Trades United, and of fifteen Guilds were carried, and the marchers erected a blackboard on which was displayed a skull and crossbones with the motto "Sacred to the memory of Corporate Corruption." A large chain was fastened across the street, and 'several voices exclaimed "See our Chain, we were Bond-slaves", [whereupon] Mr

---

[84] Richard Bourke, Letter to the Editor (draft, re: 1818 election), 19 Dec. 1817, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8478/1.

[85] Spring Rice, Letter to the Electors, written 10 Feb. 1820 and published in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 12 April 1820 *et al.*

Rice cut through it, and replied, "Behold, you are Free."' Their destination was the Commercial Buildings, from which 'a new union flag most magnificently waved in salutation'.[86]

This religious language allowed Liberals both to claim the moral high ground, and to form a direct contrast with the religious and political views of the Vereker group, whose close links with the exclusive Protestant Corporation, the Orange Lodges, and the Militia were already well known. William Howley made the link between the Corporation, the Vereker family, and Protestant 'bigotry' explicit when he told electors that all the scurrilous tactics that the 'Corporation party' used were

> light and unimportant, when compared to that wicked attempt which was made to recruit for the Corporation party by creating religious feuds among the people. ... the poison of religious animosity [was] poured out amongst us, to corrupt the intercourse of private society, and to arm men in religious hatred against each other. ... Is it not enough for those Corporators, that the Catholic has undergone near two centuries of bondage and persecution? ... It is only in the ruinous and cobwebbed chambers of Corporate monopoly that bigotry still builds its ----- nest.[87]

The language of Christian citizenship also allowed Liberals to differentiate themselves from Irish Radicals, who were much more reliant upon the language of natural rights which had been used by English radicals like Tom Paine, and many European Liberals. The implications of this language were far too democratic and republican for Irish Liberals, and fit poorly with their belief in elite rule and mixed government.

Religious Issues

Between 1815 and 1825 the 'Catholic Question' had re-emerged to become one of the key political issues throughout Ireland, and the elections of 1817 and 1818 had shown that religious Liberalism was a pre-requisite for Spring Rice's leadership of the Liberals. Although this Liberal ideology was specifically tailored to the needs of the Irish elite, as the previous two chapters have shown, it also provided support for their claim that they could provide political leadership that would satisfy Catholics and Dissenters, and the emerging middle class.

Catholic exclusion from the Corporations was an important part of the wider 'Catholic

---

[86] *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 July 1820.

[87] William Howley's speech to the Electors, *Limerick Chronicle*, 12 April 1820. The penultimate word is illegible.

question', which involved all aspects of Catholic participation in the body politic and their capacity for citizenship. Though Catholics were eligible to vote as forty-shilling freeholders, their practical exclusion from the Corporations limited their political participation. Furthermore, it was already clear that those members of Irish Corporations who continued to argue for Catholic exclusion, saw themselves as defending the notion of an exclusively Protestant polity, as has been shown conclusively by Jacqueline Hill and Ian d'Alton. The Dublin Corporation published the following resolution, in response to comments made about Corporation corruption by the Liberal Protestant Lord Cloncurry, who was also a landowner in County Limerick. Dublin Corporation concluded that

> the Irish Corporations were established for the maintenance of Protestantism, and the protection of British interests in Ireland, the Irish Corporators are, and have been at all times ... faithful to that trust.[88]

Limerick Corporation and the Vereker group participated whole-heartedly in this defence of Protestant Ascendancy, the notion of an exclusively Protestant polity, and a Protestant Constitution, they used the same kinds of strategies, and their actions were interpreted in this light. The Verekers continued to defend the notion that the body politic in Ireland was exclusively Protestant, and that the elite's role was to protect the Protestant Ascendancy by supporting the notion of a Protestant Constitution. This led to a refusal to enter into a debate about aristocratic virtue, whether by Christian standards or any other, since electors owed deference to their betters, the elite, and not judgement of them.[89] This defence of the notion of an exclusive Protestant polity was strengthened during the 1820s, as it was closely linked with the Protestant Crusade (see Chapter 2).

By the end of the decade, this Protestant defence was being expressed most vociferously through the Brunswick Constitutional Clubs in Ireland.[90] Though they did not

---

[88] Lord Cloncurry had been a United Irishman, and was imprisoned on suspicion of treason in 1798 and 1799-1801. Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 364-5.

[89] 4 Jan. 1819, Minutes of the Corporation of Limerick, NLI microfilm n5295.

[90] The immediate impetus for the formation of Brunswick Constitutional Clubs in Ireland was George Dawson's announcement of his support for Catholic Emancipation at a Derry Orange meeting in August 1828. This was interpreted as a volte face by the Wellington Government because Dawson was Tory MP for Londonderry, Financial Secretary to the Treasury in Wellington's government, and brother-in-law to Robert Peel. David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London and New York, 1992), 100.

require secret oaths or Protestantism, the Clubs' aim was 'simply and solely [to] preserve the integrity of our Protestant constitution, and ... of our Protestant Establishment.'[91] In Limerick, the Brunswick Club met at the Limerick Club, and was supported by the Vereker group, the Corporation, and local Evangelical Protestants like Godfrey Massy.[92] The Ennis Brunswick Club was formed during the 1828 election, and at its first meeting in October its members said that its purpose was to defend the constitution of Church and State. William Smith O'Brien and his brother Sir Lucien O'Brien boycotted the meeting in a rare show of political solidarity.[93] At its next meeting, the Ennis Brunswick Club decided to counter adverse Liberal publicity by published their own anthem:

> Vain braggarts may talk, but their purpose we'll baulk.
> The bright star of Brunswick illumines our sky.
> By its lights we will walk, and their menaces mock.
> "No surrender!" shall still be the Protestant cry.[94]

The Liberal success in achieving political power in Limerick City, and their attempt to force reform on the Corporation, reinforced the Vereker group's belief that the Protestant Ascendancy was under attack, both from below and from within the elite. As a result, very few Catholics or Liberal Protestants were admitted to the Corporation as freemen, and the Common Council itself remained an exclusive body which continued to be controlled by the Vereker family. By 1833 there were still no Catholics, no members of the Chamber of Commerce, and

---

[91] *Dublin Evening Post*, 26 Aug. 1828. See also Brunswick Constitutional Club, *Report of Speech at the First general Meeting ... Held in the Rotundo, 4 Nov. 1828* by John Martin (Dublin, 1828); 'Letters ... relative to the Brunswick Constitutional Clubs, 1828', NLI ms 5017; *A full and authoritative report of the proceedings of the first general meeting of the Brunswick Constitutional Club of Ireland ... Tuesday 4 Nov. 1828* (Dublin, 1828); material on Brunswick Clubs in the Farnham papers, NLI ms 18604; and Hereward Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836* (London and Toronto, 1966), 225-33, 245-6; G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830* (Oxford, 1964), 126-7; Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, 100-1; SOC 2375/8,10, and SOC 2622, NAI.

[92] 'J.B.', *County Club Limerick*, 6-7; Rev. Godfrey Massy to Dawson Massy (his brother), 5 Nov. 1829, quoted in Godfrey Massy, *The Faithful Shepherd: memoir, with sketches of his times* ed. Dawson Massy (London, 1870, 4th ed. [1855]), 137-8, see also 244-6. See also Chapter 2 above.

[93] *Clare Journal*, 11 Oct. 1828. At this first meeting, James Molony was elected as chairman, and other members included Francis Gore, Augustine Fitzgerald, Thomas Mahon, Thomas Browne, Poole Hickman, William Scott, Thomas Morony, and Thomas Studdert. Lucien O'Brien remained a Tory throughout his life, and cut off contact with William Smith O'Brien when he joined the Repeal Association.

[94] *Clare Journal*, 23 Oct 1828.

only one Dissenter on the Common Council, or in any official Corporation position.[95]

At a more general level, Catholic political participation had become a focal point in Irish politics by 1820. The escalation of the Protestant Crusade, with its frontal assault on Catholic claims to virtue and morality, the continued failure to achieve Catholic Emancipation under the Union, and the growing influence of Daniel O'Connell, together ensured that the nature of citizenship became an explicit and dominant focus in Irish political debate during the 1820s.

It was obvious to the whole of the elite that the extension of full political participation to Catholics, both locally and within the British State, would upset the existing balance of power. However, Liberals focused on separating the issue of religion in Ireland from political participation. In so doing they hoped to regain Catholic support for the rule of an elite that was broadened to include wealthy Catholics. Spring Rice made his views on Catholic participation in politics clear in his 1827 pamphlet on Catholic Emancipation:

> If Emancipation were conceded, would the nobility, who confer grace and dignity upon the cause, remain in a state of discontent and agitation? and does not the co-operation of that nobility add to Catholic power? If Emancipation were conceded, would the gentry, who might then claim rank in the legislature, continue their complaints? are not those gentlemen a source of Catholic power? If Emancipation were conceded, and the offices of the law opened to Catholic knowledge and ability, would the lawyers, the chief agitators, possess the same means or disposition to indulge their exciting eloquence? and do not these lawyers, both in Dublin and on their provincial missions, create and multiply Catholic power? ... So long as it can, with truth, be asserted, that the powers of the State are combined against the Roman Catholics, so long will the Catholics necessarily combine against the powers of the State. The exclusion is against the Roman Catholics as such; the discontent is therefore Catholic, the union Catholic, and the power Catholic. Their exclusion forms their power, and for both your Lordship [Lord Liverpool as Prime Minister] is deeply responsible.[96]

The Liberal commitment to Catholic Emancipation did not mean that Irish Liberals always supported O'Connell, or that they used the same arguments. The most obvious areas where O'Connellites and Liberals were compatible, were their shared campaign against 'old corruption' among the elite, and in the use of the Law and the Union (in this period at least) in attempts to rein in the elite and defend the populace.[97] However, there was a sharp disjunction

---

[95] 1820 (229) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Limerick Election*; See also 1835 (23) xxvii. *First Report of the Commissioners to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland*, 1835 (23) xxvii, 353, 357-8.

[96] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation* (1827), 12-14.

[97] W.D. Rubinstein, 'The end of "old corruption" in Britain, 1780-1860', *Past and Present* 101

between the languages of citizenship used by Protestant leaders of Liberal campaigns and by supporters of O'Connell. Many Liberal Protestants found O'Connellite political methods and language offensive because of their republican and democratic overtones, despite O'Connell's many attempts during the 1820s to draw them in under his leadership.[98] The O'Connellite campaign in the 1826 election made it clear that Catholic Emancipation was also about the right of the forty-shilling freeholders to use freedom of judgement in the exercise of their franchise rather than accepting their obligation to vote as the Ascendancy dictated. In fact the experience of Lord Doneraile, who was only able to gain the votes of seven of his tenants, who were all Protestants, was repeated all over Ireland in 1826.[99] As Lalor Sheil wrote triumphantly, 'A simultaneous and universal revolt against the aristocracy has taken place, - Ireland has been to a certain extent revolutionised.'[100] It was this aspect of O'Connell's activities that the elite deemed the greatest threat, because it was a direct challenge to their status.

There was great personal animosity between Spring Rice and O'Connell in particular, and they had narrowly avoided a duel in 1812 over imputations against Spring Rice's honour and parliamentary behaviour.[101] These personal animosities were supplemented by a dramatic increase in political tension between them during the 1820s. Spring Rice believed that O'Connell sought to overturn the entire social and political structure of Irish society, and that the result would be a Democratic, Republican, and populist State which, by implication, would be defined in religious terms and would be dominated by Catholics. He also believed that O'Connell was actively encouraging a further split within Irish society, along religious lines, and Spring Rice saw all meetings and 'confederacies' like the Catholic Association, and later the Repeal movement, as

> bad and mischievous in themselves, and even when rightly conducted and framed for just and legitimate objects as liable to be abused and to become the organs of a false and perverted public opinion.[102]

(Nov. 1983), 55-86.

[98] Oliver MacDonagh, *O'Connell: The life of Daniel O'Connell 1775-1847* (London, 1990, 2nd ed.), 238.

[99] John Palliser to [anon], 24 June 1826, quoted in J.A. Reynolds, *The Catholic Emancipation Crisis in Ireland, 1823-1829* (New Haven, 1954), 96.

[100] *Freeman's Journal*, 6 July 1826.

[101] Monteagle papers, in possession of Lord Monteagle.

[102] Spring Rice to William IV, 13 Jan. 1837, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 545, f.10.

For him, O'Connell was a demagogue who incited sectarian division for his own political purposes. Between 1801 and 1826, Spring Rice argued, the Catholics in Ireland had been

> bound and consolidated within one mass, without dissentients or seceders; their increase of strength, in this interval of twenty-six years can scarcely be expressed by any involution of numbers.[103]

He opposed any political organisation that was based on religious allegiance in Ireland, whether Catholic or Protestant. This could only lead to

> an explosion of violence ... which will be resolved with augmented force from the other side, till both parties are embattled not like the subjects of one gracious monarch, living under the protection of a free constitution, but like malignant enemies panting for a deadly contest.[104]

However, if Catholic Emancipation were granted, Spring Rice thought the Catholic Association would be eradicated, because it was the existence of this religious grievance

> which alone gives it the means of acting on the public mind: no other gathering cry could effectually be raised but that of religious freedom; and from your Lordship's hand has been received that *burning cross* which collects the clansmen throughout the land.[105]

Therefore, though he supported Catholic Emancipation, he was emphatically opposed to granting power under threat or on the basis of religious criteria. The aim should be, instead, the separation of citizenship from religion. As he put it,

> I do not claim that, to them, as Roman Catholics, power should be granted. My claim for them is, as citizens of a free state, and not as members of a sect.[106]

Citizenship and Parliamentary Reform

The Catholic Emancipation bill was about allowing Catholics to be parliamentary representatives, and did not at first involve the Catholic franchise.[107] However, the issue of Catholic Emancipation involved citizenship because it was about the capacity of Catholics to participate fully in the State and in British and Irish society, at every level. O'Connell argued

---

[103] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation Considered*, 11.

[104] This was written in the context of the emergence of mass Repeal and Protestant Defence meetings, which he viewed as a continuation of the O'Connell's popular mobilisation during the 1820s. Spring Rice to William IV, 13 Jan. 1837, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 545, ff.9-10.

[105] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation Considered*, 16.

[106] *Ibid.*, 11.

[107] Although, when the bill was passed it was accompanied by a separate bill which abolished the forty-shilling freehold, which was mainly Catholic. This is considered below.

that Catholics were an important interest group in Britain under the Union, and that they should therefore participate in the British Parliament. He also argued that an entirely Protestant Parliament could never adequately represent the Catholic part of the population. In contrast, those who defended the Protestant Ascendancy argued that Catholics were incapable of citizenship and consequently that the polity should remain exclusively Protestant. As Jebb told Robert Peel in 1829,

> Towards my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, I have ever felt and acted with kindness and good will: but my conviction is unalterable, that the worst consequences, civil and political, to England and Ireland, must arise, from admitting, under any modifications, the Roman Catholic body, or any part of it, to political power.[108]

For the Liberals, the primary importance of Catholic Emancipation was not how to give Catholics more power, or the relative power of interest groups within Parliament, or even the creation of Catholic representatives specifically. It had two fundamental aims: first, Catholic Emancipation would redress a grievance that had great symbolic power, and which was a key to Irish Catholic disaffection with their political system and of Irish elite rule. As Spring Rice pointed out,

> At the meetings of men, assembled under these impressions, your Lordship would find that a constant appeal is made to the national feelings, the political animosities, the passions, and prejudices of the multitude: every local abuse, or isolated case of oppression, is brought forward as evidence of the system: but the evil of that system is political exclusion; this is the base on which every argument rests: it acts like a lens that concentrates the rays from every quarter till they heat and burn: remove the fatal medium, you avert the danger; and that which now produces inflammation is diffused in calm and genial light.[109]

Second, Catholic Emancipation would completely eradicate religion as a criterion for judging the capacity for political participation. This aim was based directly on the Liberal theological ideas discussed in Chapter 2, in which it was acknowledged that both Catholics and Protestants were capable of morality and rationality. Full political participation among suitably qualified Catholics would therefore give them equal rights and responsibilities with Protestants,

---

[108] Bishop Jebb to Robert Peel, Feb. 1829, quoted in Bishop John Jebb, *A Speech (in defence of the Church of Ireland)* ... ed. Richard Jebb (jnr), (London, 1868 [1824]), iv. Still, Bishop Jebb was forced to accept that Dissenters would be included in a Protestant polity throughout the Union after the Repeal of the [English] Test and Corporations Acts in 1828, and that the British polity could not be restricted to the Churches of England and Ireland. G.I.T. Machin, 'Resistance to repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1828', *HJ* 22:1 (1979), 115-39; and Best, 'The protestant constitution', 105-27.

[109] [Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation Considered*, 17.

and thence allow the elite to re-build rule by consent within Ireland.

For Irish Liberals, Catholic Emancipation did not mean that Catholics should be granted the franchise on a democratic basis. In fact, they were deeply suspicious about the democratisation of politics in Ireland. By 1825 Spring Rice was disillusioned by the lack of political capacity and independence of the forty-shilling freeholders, who formed the bulk of Catholic voters. As he told Bishop Doyle,

> The Catholics are going on prudently and quietly - but on them I place no kind of reliance as constituents unless indeed their own interests should 'compel them to come in'.[110]

William Smith O'Brien also repudiated the forty-shilling freehold, and in 1830 accused O'Connell of democratic notions:

> Unless it can be shown that all men are by nature equal, and by circumstances equally interested in the welfare of society, it must be allowed that a representation founded upon equal suffrage was essentially an unfair representation of the wicked and designing, the instruments of tyranny - the enemies of freedom. A House of Commons chosen by the unbiased suffrage of the populace [would] declare themselves the sole deponents of the popular will. A King would be denounced as an expensive and useless pageant. [It would] terminate in military despotism.[111]

Once Catholic Emancipation had been achieved, and religion had been eradicated as a criterion of citizenship, Liberals looked to Parliamentary Reform to review the question of which men were now capable of political responsibility. This reflected Liberal schemes of social reform, especially education, through which they sought to teach responsible Christian citizenship to those who were 'intelligent' enough, and would teach loyal subjecthood to the remainder (see Chapter 3). This matched the Liberal assumption that Catholic Emancipation was the first of a series of necessary reforms that would redress the grievances of the Irish. In fact Liberals were insistent that Catholic Emancipation would not, by itself, achieve sufficient reform and that further measures in the same spirit of 'rational and limited reform' would be

---

[110] Spring Rice to Doyle, 4 June 1825, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345; Spring Rice to Bourke, 22 July 1825, Bourke papers, ML mss 403/9. In fact, this view was privately shared by O'Connell, who wrote in March 1829 that the replacement of the forty-shilling freeholder with the new ten-pound franchise might actually give more power to the Catholics by concentrating it in more reliable and less 'demotic' and dangerous hands. He only came to strongly oppose the disenfranchisement bill after other members of the Catholic Association demonstrated the strength of their opposition. Daniel O'Connell, *Correspondence*, ed. Maurice O'Connell (Dublin, 1968-80) iv. 20.

[111] *Clare Journal*, 28 May 1830.

necessary. As Spring Rice told Doyle in 1829, it was unlucky that the present administration was Tory, because

> much of the well being of Ireland depended on the course pursued immediately on emancipation - the furrows were opened, and the good seed ought to have been thrown into the ground - the angel had descended to move the waters and we the halt and the lame ought to have been allowed to feel their healing power. I still hope that the British Government may on the meeting of Parliament be prepared to take up all Irish business on a great and enlarged scale, anticipating all the wishes and suggestions of others and introducing those remedial measures which hitherto would have been powerless, or would have added to discontent.[112]

Seen in this light, the disenfranchisement of forty-shilling freeholders was an acceptable temporary political expedient, and Spring Rice voted for both Catholic Emancipation and the bill disenfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders.

In this sense, the Catholic Emancipation debate at Westminster and the accompanying, but short-lived, debate on the disenfranchisement bill foreshadowed the Parliamentary Reform debate. Together, these debates forced the Irish elite to consider changes to the Constitution and the system of representation. Some groups among the Irish elite set their faces against any kind of constitutional reform, and against any diminution of the Protestant polity, among them Bishop Jebb and the majority of Limerick landowners. However, among those who were prepared to consider change, these debates involved the question of how to identify those people that were most likely to be independent and responsible voters. The Liberal response was to seek a set of criteria for citizenship that was based on identifying indicators of individual capacity, rather than continuing to rely on 'interests' or on religious affiliation.

The Liberal rhetoric which developed during the debates on Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform in Ireland represented a further shift from conventional Whiggery. The aristocratic Whig notion of citizenship (in Ireland as in England) had been based on the idea that it did not much matter who the individual voters were, so long as different 'interests' in the community were represented in the electorate and in Parliament.[113] The religious debates of the 1815-25 period focused Liberal Protestant attention on the individual capacity for morality

---

[112] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345. His reference to the 'suggestions of others' expressed a belief that Westminster should take advice from Irish Members of Parliament on what Irish legislation was needed.

[113] J.A.W. Gunn, 'Influence, parties and the constitution: changing attitudes 1783-1832', *HJ* 17 (1974), 301-28.

and rationality, and provided a language capable of expressing their emphasis on individual political capacity, which they believed would protect Ireland (and Britain as a whole) against the threatened degeneration into democratic radicalism. This Liberal rhetoric involved the recognition that if a larger proportion of voters from further down the social hierarchy were to be enfranchised, then their capacity to exercise this political responsibility needed to be developed and assessed. This was particularly clear in Ireland, where the vast bulk of the population was Catholic, and where there was substantial disagreement on the moral and rational capacity of Catholics.

Reform would thus reinforce the existing elite as a whole, by making it both legitimate and responsive to popular opinion, but the rights to define the body politic and to judge the capacity for citizenship would still be retained by the elite. Parliamentary Reform was also seen as an extension of Corporation Reform, both of which involved the notion of citizenship but which Liberals also hoped would draw Catholics into the body politic sufficiently to regain their support for elite rule. Spring Rice made this link between Corporation Reform and Parliamentary Reform clear in 1832:

> I am anxious before I conclude, to trouble you with a few words respecting my connection with the city of Limerick. When I first became connected with that city, I found it in a situation which some of you may possibly comprehend - there was wealth - there was intelligence - there was commerce - but its 67,000 inhabitants were deprived of a free voice in the representation which was under the baneful influence of a close corporation. Thus situated, the inhabitants called on me to fight their battles - those battles we resolutely fought for five long years, when we at length obtained a determination of a Committee of the House of Commons, which established the right of the inhabitants to the enjoyment of the elective franchise, and this decision was afterwards confirmed by statute. Nor should I now leave the inhabitants of Limerick, did I not feel perfectly assured, that by the Reform Bill their political rights are placed beyond the possibility of a doubt - I took up their cause when it was surrounded with difficulties - I leave them in the full and vigorous enjoyment of their franchises.[114]

If democracy was unacceptable, as nearly all members of the elite assumed it was, then Liberals knew it was necessary to develop a new practical way of differentiating between those who were politically responsible and those who were not. It was clear that one could not define a franchise so as to test the capacity of every individual. What was possible was the development of a series of criteria that were likely, on balance, to grant the franchise to those

---

[114] Thomas Spring Rice, *Speech of the Right Honourable Thomas Spring Rice, at a public meeting of the electors of the town of Cambridge, 26th June, 1832* (Cambridge, 1832), 14-15.

who were capable of exercising it responsibly. This is why Liberals began to focus on the process of defining indicators. Property ownership continued to be widely acknowledged as a major indicator of 'independence' or freedom from illegitimate influence.[115] However, a more careful distinction between legitimate and illegitimate propertied influence was now being debated in Ireland, as was demonstrated by the debates on Corporation Reform and on the capacity of O'Connell and the Catholic clergy to disrupt traditional landlord influence. In addition, the two notions of rationality and 'intelligence' emerged in the course of these debates, as they did in the religious debates. In particular, Liberals linked the political and religious languages together, around the issue of Catholic capacity, and frequently called themselves the 'friends of rational freedom'.[116]

One of the main reasons that Liberals opposed O'Connell was that they thought he was trying to eradicate all influence, whether legitimate or not. This would destroy deference as well as corruption, and Liberals believed this would lead to a democratic revolution. Thus in 1832, Spring Rice argued that Parliamentary Reform (like Catholic Emancipation) had reinforced the Constitution and improved political stability throughout the Union:

> I consider the franchise which has just been granted to my fellow-countrymen as a fresh link in the chain of sympathy which connects all classes - uniting in one common bond, the King, the Legislature, the Government, and the People. - I believe that the people now enjoy more extended privileges and elective rights more widely diffused, and live under a better and more perfect Constitution, than they did when excluded from a voice in public affairs; and in proportion as the change increases the national happiness, in that proportion do I believe it to add to national security.[117]

In addition, improving the system of registering voters made electors less susceptible to illegitimate propertied influence, of the type used against him in 1820. In Limerick, Richard Bourke organised the Reform petition, despite the fact that the Mayor of Limerick refused permission for him to call a public meeting for the purpose, and Spring Rice presented it to the

---

[115] Jonathan P. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 1993), 79. See also Peter Bailey, '"Will the real Bill Banks please stand up?": towards a role analysis of mid-Victorian working-class respectability', *Journal of Social History* 12 (Spring 1979), 336-53, who argued that the concept of independence had multiple meanings in England as well as in Ireland.

[116] Bourke to Spring Rice, 11 Sept 1843 (draft), Bourke papers, ML ms 403/5.

[117] Spring Rice, *Speech at Cambridge*, 5.

House of Commons.[118]

Irish Liberals were prepared to accept some degree of ambivalence on Parliamentary Reform, provided the candidates were opposed to both democratic reform and to Repeal of the Union, and were in favour of wide-ranging social and political reforms. So, for example, while William Smith O'Brien and his elder brother Sir Lucien O'Brien both refused to endorse Parliamentary Reform unequivocally, their unambiguous opposition to O'Connell on both democracy and Repeal, their history of opposition to the Brunswick Constitutional Clubs and to the local Tories, and their stance on Irish local reforms, made them acceptable in Liberal eyes. More important than support for Parliamentary Reform specifically, was the Liberal view that Catholic Emancipation was the beginning of an extensive programme of social and political reform in Ireland. This was necessary to convince Catholics that their interests were represented in Parliament, and ultimately to regain Catholic support for elite leadership and for reform using constitutional means. Aubrey de Vere commented that the 1830 election had

> unexpectedly grown into unnatural importance, [and] will tell whether this country is to have peace at last, or whether a new chapter of social warfare is to be announced. ... What has been done for the Catholics was but an act of justice - and for that we had scarce a right to expect gratitude.[119]

In practical terms, the 1832 Reform Act was also important in consolidating the gains in the composition of the electorate which had been achieved by the Independents in 1820. The post-Reform electorate in Limerick City produced a register of 2,413 electors, only about 400 of whom were resident freemen.[120] Non-resident freeman were also allowed, but only if they lived within seven miles of the city, and this included most of the Pery group of professionals, gentry, and rich merchants who lived or owned townhouses in Newtownpery.[121] Finally, the Irish Reform Act did not involve a 'Chandos amendment' which gave £50 tenants-at-will the vote (as the English Reform Act had). This limited the size of the Irish electorate, and went a long way toward re-establishing the political control of Irish landlords, who could deny the franchise by

---

[118] Bourke to Lord Clare [? illegible], 17 Mar. 1831, and Bourke to Spring Rice, 23 Mar. 1831, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/9; *Hansard 3*, ii. 707.

[119] Aubrey de Vere to Bourke, 19 Jan. 1830, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/7.

[120] This represented 16.6 percent. Spellissy and O'Brien, *Limerick: the rich land* (Ennis, Co. Clare, 1989), 72-3; *cf.* Dublin City in 1832, where 28.1 percent of the newly enlarged electorate were registered freemen. Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 296.

[121] Spellissy and O'Brien, *Limerick*, 72-3.

refusing long-term leases. This reflected Liberal attitudes toward maintaining the elite's 'legitimate' influence and also showed that Liberal parliamentary reform was in no sense democratic.[122]

Elite Rule

The nature and the role of the elite was an important and ever-present issue in politics, just as it was in social policy. After the Union, the Irish social and political structure was in crisis. The emergent struggle between the Liberal 'Independents' and the Vereker group for control of local government was in one sense a struggle between different interpretations of the elite role within Irish society. This led to debates about access to political power, and also about virtue and corruption. Elite power would be made legitimate by overthrowing an existing corrupt and oligarchic aristocracy using the British political system, and also by broadening that elite to include the whole of the gentry, professional, industrialist, merchant, and financial classes, regardless of religious affiliation. The Irish Liberal elite's task became one of initiating change in order to control it and, ultimately, to limit it. It was for this reason that Liberals found the idea of 'rational reform' useful. As Spring Rice commented during the 1830 election,

> When I say that the character of the present times is peculiar I refer particularly to the condition in which our country is placed after the success of the [Catholic] Relief bill. Remedial measures that formerly would have produced no good and possibly might in their discussion have been productive of evil are now capable of immediate and most advantageous practical application; besides which, an appetite almost insatiable has been created in the minds of our countrymen for political information and discussion, and it is one of the first duties of parliament to furnish the people with wholesome food which they can not only swallow but digest.[123]

It was the combination of this 'rational reform' and the Liberal Protestant concepts of morality and individualism that marked Liberal ideology. Irish Liberalism involved both Protestants and Catholics, who shared the desire for a political system which went beyond the maintenance of a corrupt oligarchy, and which also superseded religious divisions.

The development of an economically powerful Catholic middle class was crucial in the

---

[122] K. Theodore Hoppen, 'Politics, the law, and the nature of the Irish electorate 1832-1850', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 746-76. Irish landlords preferred tenants-at-will over the traditional leases for two or three 'lives', since this made it easier for them to evict tenants and to assert greater control over their estates. (see Chapter 4).

[123] Spring Rice to Wyse, 9 Sept. 1830, Wyse papers, NLI ms 15024(7).

development of this ideology and in explaining political relationships in Ireland. The struggle between Irish Liberals and Irish Tories about the way in which this middle class should be shaped and their competition for middle class support grew out of the older struggles between individual families, and in many ways was the backbone of the competition between pro- and anti-Catholic Emancipation groups among the Ascendancy during the 1820s. However, in the long term support for or opposition to Repeal in its various forms became the dominant political issue, which overshadowed and affected the other issues at stake, but it did not replace them.

Unionism

The Union was of crucial practical importance because it provided the Irish elite with the tools to defend their leadership within Ireland. As Spring Rice argued,

> The rebellion led almost necessarily to the union; and, as compared with the pre-existing state of things, the union was a benefit; a benefit it is true of no unmixed kind; but a benefit greater than any that could have been secured, except through the means of such an extensive and efficient reform as it was scarcely safe at that moment to attempt, and which the country scarcely possessed means for carrying into effect.[124]

This did not prevent Liberals from being heavily critical of British rule. They argued that many of the promised benefits of the Union had failed to materialise. Most obvious among these, was Catholic Emancipation. As Spring Rice commented,

> A new era of conciliation and liberality was promised: emancipation to the Catholic; to the agriculturist a modification of his severest burthens; encouragement to the merchant; and to all peace and security. How far these promises have been fulfilled, is shown by the present state of Ireland.[125]

But even though they were fiercely critical of British rule in Ireland, and the failure of the British government to keep their promises, Irish Liberals in general strenuously opposed any attempt to sever the links between Britain and Ireland. Instead, they focused on the development of Irish society within the framework of the British State, which was necessary as a support for their leadership claims. In fact Bourke told Spring Rice that

> I am so strict a Unionist, I should be glad to participate in English taxation that it might no longer be said I was not fully entitled to participate in such relief as the Imperial Treasury can afford ... I wish this rigorous definition of the Union was more fully acknowledged and carried out. It might affect some of our pockets

---

[124] [Spring Rice], *Present State of Ireland*, 13.

[125] *Ibid.*

> disadvantageously but ... it would ultimately benefit us all.[126]

They also saw themselves as contributing specialist knowledge of the Irish situation to a British Parliament:

> Could I think that my being member for Cambridge would render me less a representative of the kingdom at large, I should not thank you for your support, nor could I receive it at your hands. I believe it to be the duty of a member of Parliament to disclaim all exclusive attachment that can clash with his general duties, and to exert himself for the benefit of the whole nation - returned by an Irish constituency, I trust I have not forgotten or betrayed any British interests - if member for Cambridge, my duties towards Ireland and Limerick shall not be betrayed or forgotten.[127]

Furthermore, Irish Liberals saw the Union as an adaptable framework in which they could negotiate their own place, and achieve reform within Ireland. Thus they put forward various proposals which were aimed at resolving the problems of 'jobbery' and the dominance of a 'Castle clique', including the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy.[128] As Spring Rice told Doyle,

> I cannot help thinking that as a foundation of future good we must wish to get rid of the Lord Lieutenancy. So long as there continues to exist the little Castle Click, so long as Gregory ... is in fact the chief administrator of our affairs we cannot hope for that unpartial execution of Government which is essential to an improved state of society.[129]

Membership of the Union gave the Irish Liberal elite the opportunity to participate in a much wider political context. So, when Spring Rice retreated from Limerick to Cambridge, he told the electorate that his experience as an Irish MP was just as useful to them as English experience would have been. While the notion of using the Union to defend an exclusive Protestant Ascendancy and Constitution was central to 'Tory' support of the Union, it formed no part of the Liberal version of Unionism.

The role of the Catholic bourgeoisie in these disagreements about elite politics and the Union is important. Many Irish historians have overlooked the fact that the Catholic bourgeoisie in Ireland was not unequivocally opposed to the Union. However, many wealthy Catholics supported the Union in this period, and again in the later 1830s and 1840s. In Limerick, the

---

[126] Bourke to Spring Rice, 9 Mar. 1849, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/9.

[127] Spring Rice, *Speech at Cambridge*, 14-15.

[128] Edward Brynn, *Crown and Castle: British rule in Ireland, 1800-1830* (Dublin, 1978), 155-6.

[129] Spring Rice to Doyle, 13 Sept. 1829, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345. William Gregory was the Under-Secretary of State for Ireland.

Catholic bourgeoisie were willing to ally with Liberal Protestants in seeking economic and political change within Ireland. They were also willing to support an elitist political and social structure, provided they were admitted to power within that structure.

Irish Political Groupings in the 1820s and 1830s

Despite Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, Parliamentary Members continued to be drawn from the gentry and aristocratic families in the main until well after the Famine. This meant that, despite the growing importance of the middle class in the political sphere and the increasingly popular flavour of Irish politics, battles for dominance between different elite families and interest groups continued to have important consequences at the local level in Ireland, and also in Westminster.

Liberals continued to claim the middle ground in Irish politics until the Famine, at least. Thus when in 1841 Spring Rice tried to persuade Bourke to contest the County Limerick election, he argued that Bourke would be acceptable to Liberals and 'reasonable conservatives' alike, and would therefore be successful in keeping out both Repealers and 'ultra' Tories. However, Bourke replied that support for Lord John Russell and opposition to the Tories was more important than opposition to the Repeal movement. He argued that 'If two stout fellows' could be found to give Lord John Russell a faithful vote each, even if one were a Radical, then he would remain in retirement.[130] English Liberal-Whigs recognised that Irish Liberals were an important, distinct, and moderate party that would generally support them. Therefore, from as early as 1831 the Liberal-Whig governments of Westminster actively cultivated Irish electoral candidates that were simultaneously opposed to O'Connell and Toryism. English Liberal-Whigs also provided electoral funds for these candidates directly, and through the London-based Loyal and Patriotic Fund Committee.[131] In Limerick, Matthew Barrington was offered electoral funds by Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell in 1833, and Bourke was offered financial and

---

[130] Spring Rice to Bourke, 7 June 1841; Bourke to Spring Rice, 8 June 1841; and Lansdowne to Spring Rice, 28 June 1841, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/1. Bourke also referred to a facial wound received in the Peninsula War, which he said made it difficult for him to speak in public.

[131] Lord Anglesey to Lord Stanley, 7 Aug. 1831, Anglesey papers, PRONI D619/31C; W.H. Ord to R.S. Carew, 13 May 1831, Shapland-Carew papers, NLI ms 4020. See also Hoppen, *Elections*, 257.

political support by Lansdowne in 1841.[132]

Even so, by the late 1820s Liberals in Ireland were already losing ground to O'Connell, and the Protestant Crusade encouraged the popular belief that Protestant support of Catholics was suspect and unreliable. Therefore, from 1825 Liberals experienced great pressure to be pro-Catholic rather than non-denominational. For example, Liberals like Spring Rice were accused of being unsympathetic to Catholic causes because of their belief in inter-denominational rather than exclusive Catholic education.[133] There was also growing criticism of the Liberals' limited success on Corporation Reform, which brought very slow and limited results in terms of Catholic admissions to the Corporation. By the 1828 election Spring Rice found it necessary to seek public reaffirmation that the Catholic tradesmen in Limerick still supported him. They obliged at a public meeting in June, praising him for his 'patriotism and efficiency in rescuing Limerick City from 'political non-existence' under a 'mercenary faction'.[134] Spring Rice retained his seat, but this did not stop an increasing flow of Catholic tradesmen and merchants toward O'Connell, whether or not they supported the whole of the O'Connellite programme. By 1830 Spring Rice recognised that he could not win another Limerick election, and consequently withdrew to the safe Whig seat of Cambridge. In electoral terms, Limerick remained a Catholic stronghold throughout the 1830s, so much so that Matthew Barrington decided against standing as a Liberal candidate in 1833.[135]

Catholics were not one homogenous political group, but were instead a coalition between different socio-economic groups that had different outlooks and agendas. As a result, it can by no means be assumed that Catholic support for Catholic Emancipation was automatically transferred to O'Connell's campaign for Parliamentary Reform or for Repeal of the Union. On the contrary, during the 1830s and 40s many of the Catholic gentry and some of the Catholic commercial class withdrew their support as the Repeal movement. Some prominent supporters

---

[132] Daniel Barrington to Bourke, 25 Jan. 1833, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21771; Lansdowne to Spring Rice, 28 June 1841, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/1.

[133] Spring Rice to Doyle, 4 June 1825, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 13345; Spring Rice to Bourke, 22 July 1825, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/9.

[134] *Address of the Congregated Trades of the City of Limerick*, 8 June 1828, Monteagle papers in possession of Lord Monteagle.

[135] Daniel Barrington to Bourke, 25 Jan. 1833, Bourke papers, NLI ms 21771.

of O'Connell during the Emancipation campaign who defected from the Repeal campaign included Thomas Wyse, Richard Lalor Sheil, and Lord Cloncurry, and the Roche cousins (William Roche and David Vandeleur Roche) in Limerick. In particular, they were concerned by the increasing emphasis on mass politics and by O'Connell's tendency toward Republicanism and Democracy. After the 1828 election O'Connell began to identify himself as a radical reformer and was seen by others in this light as well.[136] This produced growing concern among wealthy Catholics, who were concerned about protecting their own position as an established bourgeoisie and potential elite. Wealthy Catholics were also attracted by the possibility of gaining influence in Westminster through Irish Liberal connections to British Liberal-Whig political circles in a decade of Whig governments. Thomas Spring Rice and other Irish Liberals became newly important as dispensers of patronage and as conduits to important salon circles such as that revolving around Bowood House (in which Spring Rice was a prominent member).[137] Even O'Connell was not above taking advantage of Irish Liberal prominence in Westminster when he could.[138]

The characterisation of politics in Ireland as a binary conflict between a British Protestant Unionist elite, and an Irish Catholic Repealing populace is hopelessly inadequate. This analysis shows that neither religious, social, nor political debates in Ireland conform to these dualistic models. Irish Tories experienced opposition from O'Connellites, in both Catholic Emancipation and Repeal Movements, and also from agrarian movements. However, they also faced heavy and sustained opposition from Irish Liberals, and were continually threatened by the possibility that the Liberals might regain Catholic popular and electoral support from the Repeal movement. On the other hand, the explosive conflicts between O'Connell and the Whig government in the early 1830s brought Irish Liberals into the firing line. As O'Connell put it in

---

[136] O'Connell, *Correspondence*, iii. letter 1488, n.1.

[137] Other key figures of Lord Lansdowne's set were Nassau Senior, G.C. Lewis, Robert Torrens, and Richard Whately, who were united by a common interest in classical political economy. Charles Greville, *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, from 1837 to 1852* (London, 1885), ii. 275-8 (29 Mar. 1845). See also D.P. O'Brien, *The Classical Economists* (Oxford, 1975) and R.D. Collison Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question 1817-1870* (Cambridge, 1960).

[138] See, for his example, his attempt to persuade Spring Rice to help him obtain a patent of precedence at the Bar. O'Connell to Spring Rice, 29 Nov. 1827 and 11 Dec. 1827, O'Connell, *Correspondence*, iii. 358, 360. There were also defections from the Liberals for Repeal (for this thesis, the most important was William Smith O'Brien), which will be considered below.

August 1832, [an Irish]

> conservative has but one fault, which is indeed a *thumper*: he wants ascendancy - a thing impossible to be revived. But he is, after that, Irish, often very very Irish, and whilst in opposition he may be made more Irish than the Irish themselves. An *Angleseyite* [Irish Liberal supporters of Lord Lieutenant Anglesey] on the contrary, is a suffocating scoundrel who would crush every Irish effort lest it should disturb the repose of our English masters. ... I wish I could get Boyton and Shaw, the recorder, to join me for the repeal.[139]

This curious comment reflected O'Connell's temporary fantasy of being able to create an alliance between Irish Repealers and Irish Conservatives in a 'Home Rule confederation', against the Irish Liberals. Even so, this shows the inadequacy of a simple Irish Tory Protestant versus O'Connellite Catholic Nationalist model in the pre-Famine period. As Spring Rice put it in 1834,

> I am afraid [the Repeal movement] will conduct the English people by the great Tory Highway into very steep and dangerous Radical courses. I scarcely know which of the two extremes are more odious to me.[140]

While most members of the elite became Unionists in the period after the Rebellion, this did not have the implications that historians have assumed. First, while members of the Irish elite used English political classifications in the main, this was done to assist them in negotiating an influential role with a political system focused in Westminster. However, the issues they were debating, the policies they sought to influence, and the ideologies they were developing, were not an extension of English debates, policies, and ideologies. They were, instead, determined by Irish circumstances, Irish ideas, and above all by the Irish elite's need to find a way of maintaining their leadership within Ireland. Second, the acceptance of the Union among most members of the elite did not imply unanimity in outlook, identity, or ideology. On the contrary, this analysis demonstrates that there was substantial competition for the right to define how the elite should adapt, and whether it should change the way it defined itself. Third, neither Unionism nor Nationalism in the late nineteenth century can be explained satisfactorily as the continuation of two-sided conflict in the early-nineteenth century. Early nineteenth-

---

[139] O'Connell to P.V. Fitzpatrick, 29 Aug. 1832, *O'Connell Correspondence*, iv. 442. Rev. Charles Boyton, fellow of Trinity College Dublin, and Frederick Shaw, Tory MP for Dublin City (1830-31, 1832) and University (1832-48) and Recorder of Dublin City (1828-76), were prominent Dublin Conservatives. See also Oliver MacDonagh, 'Politics, 1830-45' in *NHI* v. 174-5.

[140] Spring Rice to Lord Suffield, 24 Nov. 1834, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 546.

century political conflicts were much more complex than this, and were often three-cornered. The existence of a small but active elite Liberal group in Ireland goes a long way towards explaining why this elite could not collectively decide on a consistent course of action in defending themselves. It helps to explain why they were neither able to stem the tide of Nationalism, nor assume leadership of it, and it explains the elite's ambiguous approach to collaboration with the British State. Above all, the existence of substantial and continuing disagreement within the elite allows historians to show why Irish Nationalism cannot be explained simply as a conflict between the Irish people and the British State, who, in turn, used a garrison Protestant British elite to implement imperial policy.

III. Liberalism and Repeal 1832-1848: Competition For the Anti-Tory Vote

During the 1830s and 40s Irish Liberalism found itself increasingly embattled. First, after Catholic Emancipation O'Connell was largely successful in drawing off much popular support for a predominantly Protestant Liberal party. Second, the Repeal Association and the Irish Conservatives were becoming even more closely aligned with the religious divide within Ireland, especially in the course of the 1830s Tithe War. This meant that the middle ground occupied by Irish Liberals, both Protestant and Catholic, was evaporating. There no longer seemed to be a niche for an inter-denominational and elite Liberal Party. As Spring Rice told the King in 1837,

> Party strife and animosities are not only prevalent but predominant. ... party violence is twisted throughout the whole, like the rogue's yarn in a coil of rope. The hate which each [directs at] his opponent is incomprehensible to those who have not observed it, and is only to be surpassed by the still greater antipathy which they entertain for all who dare to act for themselves and avoid extreme violence on both sides.[141]

Third, the failure of Irish Liberals to sufficiently influence British policy to achieve the substantial reforms they had promised, undermined their ability to claim support, and O'Connell was not slow to capitalise. They were caught in a no-man's land between the Repeal movement which made a virtue of separation from English politics on one hand, and their own reliance on close ties with the English Whig governments on the other. In particular, their failures to

---

[141] Spring Rice to William IV, 13 Jan. 1837, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 545, f.8.

achieve effective Corporation Reform, and to sufficiently influence the British Whig administration during the Famine, undermined their claim to effective and legitimate leadership as an elite within Ireland.

As a result, Hoppen has argued that by 1847 the Liberal Party in Ireland was no more and no less than an 'official party', and that it survived thereafter only because Ireland had Liberal administrations almost continually between 1846 and 1874.[142] However, it is misleading to suggest that Irish Liberalism was generated in and transmitted from England, and that the Irish Liberal Party was an extension of the London party. Irish Liberalism did draw on a range of sources including English Liberal Anglicanism, and it was compatible with post-Reform Liberal-Whig ideology in England. However, the political ideology developed in Ireland between 1815 and the mid-1820s was a response to Irish political and religious circumstances and was not based on the application of English Whiggery to Irish circumstances. Politicians like Thomas Spring Rice developed a Liberal rhetoric and power-base in Ireland, calling themselves Liberals or Reformers in elections, more than a decade before post-Reform Act politicians in England began to do so in any consistent way.[143]

Furthermore, it should not be assumed that Liberalism either died as an ideology, or that Nationalism quickly replaced it. Between 1832 and 1868 a majority of Irish MPs identified themselves as Liberal, and were supported by the Irish Liberal Party.[144] Liberalism in the North

---

[142] Hoppen, *Elections*, 258-9. See also O'Connell's comment in 1843 the 'Irish Corporation Reform Act has produced a mongrel species of Corporation more dead than alive; powerless and paralized ... and this insult is aggravated by those who say that there is a *union* between England and Ireland! - Bah!' Daniel O'Connell, *Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon* (Dublin, 1843), 40-1.

[143] There has been some debate about when an effective Liberal Party emerged in England, when English politicians began to refer to themselves as Liberal in any consistent sense, and when Liberal ideology can be considered to be well-formed and coherent. Jonathan Parry has made an early estimate among English historians, arguing that a Liberal Party and a coherent Liberal ideology emerged during the Melbourne government of 1835-41, and that this revolved around the Reform Club (established in 1836). Parry, *Rise and Fall*, Chapter 6, esp. 128-30. Sykes puts it slightly earlier, in 1832 when the Reform Act was passed, which was based on Gladstone's view expressed in 1874. Alan Sykes, *The Rise and Fall of British Liberalism 1776-1988* (London, 1997), 19. At the other extreme, John Vincent dates Liberalism from 1857-68. John Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party* (London, 1972).

[144] Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland.* Liberals are distinguished from Repealers in these figures, even in the 1835 and 37 elections where Repeal candidates are identified by Walker as 'Liberal (Repeal)', as opposed to merely 'Liberal'. Walker identifies as Repealers all those who signed the pledge, advocated it in the election, or supported it in the ensuing Parliament. He identifies as Liberals all those who labelled themselves Liberals, Whigs, or

was more closely linked with Dissenting religious ideas than with those of the Church of Ireland.[145] However, southern Liberals still formed a significant group. In contrast, even at its high point in 1832, the Repeal Association claimed only 42 of 105 House of Commons seats, and thereafter until 1852 they never comprised more than one-third of Irish Members of Parliament.[146] Indeed, it was not until 1874 that a majority of Irish Members of Parliament identified themselves as Nationalist, despite the fact that the Repeal Association explicitly endorsed independence from the British State from 1844.[147] Limerick County returned at least one Whig or Liberal MP for the whole of the period between 1812 and 1850, even in the 1847 election. Limerick City returned a Liberal MP between 1820 and 1831, and then again returned at least one Liberal MP between 1841 and 1846. Even after Irish Liberals disappeared as a cohesive political grouping, Liberal ideology continued to be influential on an individual basis, and this was particularly true in official circles and was fostered by people such as Thomas Drummond.[148] It remained strong enough to experience a resurgence in the 1860s and was one of the elements in the development of Liberal Unionism.[149]

The collision between the Repeal movement and Irish Toryism in the 1830s and 1840s,

---

Reformers, but who did not actively support Repeal. (*Ibid.*, xiv).

Even allowing for the preponderance of Liberal MPs in Ulster, this still makes Irish Liberals a significant political grouping in the southern counties. *cf.* Steven Knowlton who uses a different method to differentiate between the Independent Irish Party and the Irish Liberal Party (from which the IIP came) during the 1850s, and argues that the latter increasingly voted against the Irish Liberals after 1854. Even so, he commented that both the IIP and the Irish Liberal Party were all Liberals and all Irish. Unfortunately, this rather confuses the issue because it does not allow historians to differentiate between politicians with Nationalist, Democratic, and Liberal ideologies. Steven R. Knowlton, 'The voting behavior of the Independent Irish Party, 1850-59', *Eire-Ireland* 26:1 (Spring 1991), 57-75, esp. 67-8.

[145] This is a relatively unexplored area of research, but see J.L. McCracken, *New Light at the Cape of Good Hope: William Porter, the father of Cape Liberalism* (Belfast, 1993); David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London and New York, 1992); Jennifer Todd, 'Two traditions in Unionist political culture', *Irish Political Studies* 2 (1987), 1-26.

[146] Though the majority of Repeal Members of Parliament were from southern Ireland. Brian M. Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin, 1978). John Coakley and Michael Gallagher (eds), *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin, 1993, 2nd ed.), 264.

[147] *Clare Journal*, 3 June 1844. Report on the extraordinary meeting of the General Repeal Association in Dublin, 30 May 1844; Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results*.

[148] M.A.G. O'Tuathaigh, *Thomas Drummond and the Government of Ireland, 1835-41* (Dublin, 1978).

[149] Andrew Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness: the experience of constructive Unionism 1890-1905* (Cork, 1987).

has obscured the fact that this period also involved an intense competition between the Repeal movement and Irish Liberals for the non-Tory vote, which was not wholly won by either group. The 1830 elections proved that O'Connellite support was strong throughout Ireland, and in general Irish Liberal Protestant candidates suffered as a result. Even Spring Rice concluded that he could not hold Limerick against a Catholic candidate, and withdrew to Cambridge. Instead, the Roche cousins came to dominate the constituency during the 1830s. However, even their support for O'Connell was ambiguous and limited, and they were hostile to the increasingly radical tenor of O'Connell's ideas on Repeal. As James Roche put it, they continued to be opposed to the

> precarious tenure of Protestant Ascendancy - that scaffolding of political injustice and oppressive domination, so long a standing outrage on reason, and mischievous engine of intolerance.[150]

He argued that their 'principles will always be found on the Liberal side, either unequivocally expressed, or unmistakably implied.'[151] William, David, and James Roche agreed that,

> The firm cement of the union, not its repeal - the full and cordial accomplishment of its object and promise, not their violation, seemed to me the surest remedial appliance to our suffered evils - their safest corrective.[152]

O'Connell reacted by dispensing the Roches from pledging for Repeal in the August 1830 election, in order to ensure the election of sympathetic Catholics, instead of a Protestant Liberals.[153] Spring Rice was happier with the Roches as Members for Limerick, than he was with Repealers that were more closely tied with the increasingly radical O'Connellite group. As he wrote to Matthew Barrington after the 1834 election,

> As to the City I think under all circumstances the return of the Roches is the best thing that could have happened. ... Maurice O'Connell's small majority of 4 does not look as if the cause of Repeal was in the Ascendant. May it never become so.[154]

---

[150] James Roche, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays by an Octogenarian* (Cork, 1850) i. 458. James Roche was also a cousin, who lived in Cork.

[151] Roche, *Essays by an Octogenarian* i. Preface.

[152] *Ibid.*, ii. 124.

[153] *Ibid.*, ii. 120. See also [William Roche], *Ireland Vindicated; or, reflections upon ... the question of a repeal of the act uniting England with Ireland; and upon the answer returned by ... Spring Rice ... to the address of the Cordwainers of Limerick ... by A True Whig* (London, 1831).

[154] Spring Rice to Matthew Barrington, 15 Jan. 1834, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 546. Maurice O'Connell was Daniel's son.

Like the Roches, the Catholic Liberal Thomas Wyse also withdrew his support from O'Connell after 1829. In the August 1830 election, he contested Waterford on a Liberal platform, in opposition to O'Connell himself and to the Tory Beresford, but it quickly became obvious that Thomas Wyse and O'Connell were splitting the anti-Beresford vote. O'Connell initially offered to withdraw, but then Wyse retired on the second day of polling, and so O'Connell won only after he had acquired Wyse's Liberal votes.[155] A month later, in the election forced by William IV's accession, Wyse contested Tipperary. There was no O'Connellite candidate, and Wyse won the seat against John Hely-Hutchinson, the Protestant radical from Cork. When Spring Rice wrote to Wyse to congratulate him, he commented that

> I am sure that you will not be surprized at my wishing that your victory had been over a Beresford rather than a Hutchinson but I cannot allow any circumstance seriously to affect the gratification I feel at your return.[156]

The tension between Liberalism and Repeal was increased by O'Connell's attempt to win over Liberals to the Repeal Campaign. Thus in the 1834 election O'Connell decided on a policy of automatically lending Repeal Association support to every Whig or Liberal candidate in Ireland. As he wrote to his wife Mary, 'This is a peculiar election at which we [the Repealers] are ready to allow every or almost every anti-Tory in possession to continue so'.[157] Even O'Connell's protégé Perrin, who tried to set up an independent Repeal organisation in Dublin, believed that O'Connell was trying to establish the 'principle that no Liberal person shall come into parliament [for an Irish constituency] who shall not be bound hand and foot by him'.[158] Many Irish Liberals also interpreted this as an attempt to gain control over them. Spring Rice's animosity to the plan was clear, and though he had begun to inquiries about his son Stephen standing for election in County Cork, O'Connell's plan made him call a halt:

> You perceive what an artful game O'Connell is playing in Ireland. He wishes to induce men of our opinions to place themselves in positions where he may hereafter reproach them with ingratitude if they do not to some extent make themselves joints of his tail. I should lose all the vertebrae of my own spine first. Therefore I particularly rejoice that Stephen is not of age, as I should have had much difficulty in averting his return for Limerick.[159]

---

[155] Sheedy, *Clare Elections*, 163.

[156] Spring Rice to Wyse, 9 Sept. 1830, Wyse papers, NLI ms 15024(7).

[157] O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 3 Dec. 1834, O'Connell, *Correspondence*, v. 216.

[158] R.D. Craig to E.J. Littleton, Dec 1834, quoted in R.B. McDowell, *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland 1801-1846* (London, 1952), 162.

[159] Spring Rice to Lansdowne, 7 Dec. 1834, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 546.

The hostility between Spring Rice and O'Connell could not obscure the fact they frequently found themselves on the same side on debates about Irish affairs in the House of Commons (with the obvious exception of Repeal). English observers, whether Radical, Liberal or Tory, frequently assumed that the Irish 'party' was united under O'Connell (a misinterpretation that O'Connell was understandably not inclined to counteract), and that Irish Liberals tended toward Radicalism. Thus in 1834 Spring Rice was somewhat horrified to be asked to stand for Glasgow. He was informed that, 'the Radicals would accept me gladly with my declared moderate opinions and that with them and the Whigs, my return would be certain'.[160] He refused on the grounds that

> I was not prepared to adopt the new code of household suffrage, the ballot, and triennial parliaments. I feared my difference on these constitutional questions might produce jealousies of differences which would be very inconvenient between a representative and his constituents.[161]

This tension was further accentuated in 1835, when O'Connell successfully engineered a powerful alliance between the Whig government and the 'Irish Party', which came to be called the 'Lichfield House Compact'. O'Connell's success in achieving this alliance provided evidence to support his claim to lead the non-Tory Irish parliamentarians.[162] It also provided evidence that the Repealers could exert greater influence on British government than Irish Liberals. This was reinforced by the fact that the Liberal-Whig government ignored Spring Rice's vociferous opposition to the alliance.[163]

Even so, by 1843 O'Connell still felt his leadership threatened enough to step up his attacks on anything which he thought divided the energies of Catholics, and distracted them

---

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] *Ibid.*

[162] O'Connell claimed that he controlled 60 of the 65 non-Tory Irish MPs in 1835, even though only 34 of these were supporters of Repeal. Even so, 'controlled' was an over-statement. MacDonagh comments that this appearance was misleading, and that O'Connell could not have played the role in the late 1830s that Parnell played in the 1880s. MacDonagh, *O'Connell*, 401.

[163] It as a result of this disagreement between Spring Rice and Russell that Spring Rice attempted to remove himself from active party politics by becoming Speaker of the Commons (which was unsuccessful). Lord John Russell, *Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell* ed. Rollo Russell (London, 1913) ii. 79-81; Spring Rice to Spencer, 13 Jan. 1835, Spring Rice to Wood, 14 Jan. 1835, Spring Rice to Drummond, 16 Jan. 1835, Spring Rice to Lansdowne, 23 Jan. 1835, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 546. See also Henry Richard Vassall Fox Holland, *The Holland House Diaries, 1831-1840* ed. Abraham D. Kreigal (London, 1977), 282.

from support of the Repeal Association. This included an attack in public meetings during early 1843 on the growing movement of socialist artisans in Dublin, in which he accused them of seeking to 'conciliate the poorer classes of Protestants in the towns by their abuse of the Catholic priests', and trying to usurp the place of the real force of change in Ireland, the Repeal Association.[164] O'Connell also responded aggressively to an attack made by the Liberals in May 1843, on O'Connell and the Repeal Association, when Thomas Wyse and William Smith O'Brien tried to mobilise Irish Liberals in opposition to the attempted re-introduction of a Coercion bill for Ireland.[165] In this swansong of Irish Parliamentary Liberalism, Wyse aimed to bring together these Irish MPs into a Party that could 'neutralise Repeal'. This Party would have Irish Liberals at its core (such as himself, O'Brien, Lambert, Walker, Wallace, Leader, Dawson, O'Connor Don, Chapman, Ross, Crawford, Reddington), but it would also draw the support of the 'intermediaries and moderates in Ireland', regardless of former party allegiance.[166] He argued that,

> O'Connell's absense [sic.] has been fortunate. We have redeemed the position ... we had in 1830-31, and are now a compact, united, energetic and working body, which the House is beginning to feel and respect.[167]

The debate on O'Brien's motion against the Arms Bill, on 4 July 1843, is interesting because the twelve Irish Liberals who spoke over five nights re-iterated the arguments that Irish Liberals has used in the 1820s and 30s. They argued that the most effective way to solve 'the Irish problem' and to prevent Repeal, was to redress the popular Irish grievances upon which O'Connell fed.[168] Wyse and Smith O'Brien then composed a 'Remonstrance' as a 'confession of faith and a bond of union' among Irish 'moderates' in Ireland, and in Dublin in particular.[169] Yet, when Wyse and Smith O'Brien attempted to obtain signatures, they found the Irish

---

[164] This episode is discussed by Geoghegan, 'Irish Socialism'. For O'Connell's comments, *The New Moral World* 4 Feb., 11 Feb., 18 Mar. 1843 quoted *ibid.*, 110-11.

[165] William Smith O'Brien to Lucy O'Brien, 9 May 1843, Wyse papers, NLI ms 432, f.965; Smith O'Brien to Bourke, 25 May 1843, Bourke papers, NLI ms 8477(10). My treatment of this episode draws on the work of Robert Sloan, 'Irish issues and Unionist MPs 1832-1846' (PhD, Glasgow, 1982) and 'O'Connell's liberal rivals in 1843', *IHS* 30:117 (May 1996), 46-65.

[166] Wyse to George Wyse, 6, 8, 14 June 1843, Wyse papers, NLI ms 15019(10).

[167] Wyse to George Wyse, 6 June 1843, *Ibid.*

[168] *Hansard* 3, lxx (4 July 1843), 630-31, 1091-2. See also *DEP* 29 June, 8 July, 15 July 1842.

[169] Wyse to George Wyse, 31 June 1843, Wyse papers NLI ms 15019(10). Complete published version of the 'Remonstrance' is in *DEP*, 8 Aug. 1843

Members slow to endorse an explicit manifesto, which restricted their political flexibility. Furthermore, Wyse and Smith O'Brien also found that the British Liberal Party was reticent about supporting an explicit document that ruled out Coercion in the future.[170] The failure of this attempt to mobilise Irish Liberals and to gain the support of the British Liberal party, was one of the major factors in O'Brien's decision to embrace Repeal and in his establishment as a Young Ireland leader. As Wyse wrote to his brother,

> O'Brien is impatient and can't endure any longer delay ... He is *decided* on leaving Parliament and throwing himself into the Repeal movement in November, if nothing be done in the interval by the Government ... He is sick of begging - and will beg no longer - ten years he has been doing, and without avail, nothing else.[171]

In fact, by 15 August Wyse and O'Brien had 29 Irish Liberal MP signatures.[172] Eventually, the Peel administration decided not to pursue the coercion bill, but the 'Remonstrance' had no effect on their decision to ban O'Connell's planned 8 October 'monster meeting' at Clontarf, nor did it prevent O'Connell's arrest, prosecution and imprisonment for conspiracy.[173] On 20 October 1843 Smith O'Brien sent in his subscription to the Repeal Association, citing the failure of the 'Remonstrance' as the decisive factor in his conversion.[174] He then chaired the extraordinary meeting of the General Repeal Association in Dublin on 30 May 1844, which endorsed the motion that 'The struggle for our national rights will terminate only with the legislative independence of Ireland.'[175] In the following year the Young Ireland movement emerged, and in 1848 William Smith O'Brien was transported for his part in the Rising.

What led to the disintegration of a Irish Liberalism as a unified political force was their failure to influence Westminster sufficiently, and thus to provide a viable alternative to Repeal. Ironically, Wyse's fear that O'Brien's conversion to Repeal would encourage the obscurity of

---

[170] George Wyse to Thomas Wyse, 1 Aug. 1843, Wyse papers NLI ms 15020(6).

[171] Wyse to George Wyse, 8 Aug. 1843, Wyse papers NLI ms 15019(10).

[172] Wyse to George Wyse, 15 Aug. 1843, *Ibid.* See also Smith O'Brien papers, NLI ms 433, ff.1049-60.

[173] Leon O'Broin, 'The trial and imprisonment of O'Connell, 1843', *Eire-Ireland* 8:4 (1973), 39-47.

[174] *DEP*, 24 Oct. 1843.

[175] *Clare Journal*, 3 June 1844. Report on the extraordinary meeting of the General Repeal Association in Dublin, 30 May 1844.

Irish Liberalism, has matched the reputation of Irish Liberalism within modern Irish History. This would undoubtedly have pleased O'Connell immensely.[176] As Wyse put it in 1843,

> .... We shall all be considered in the House not as the intermediate party we now are but as Repealers in transition - and lose much of that influence which as moderates we hold. Our declarations will go for little more in and outside of the House but milk and water Repeal spectres.[177]

The reality was that Liberalism did exist as a powerful ideology and political grouping within Ireland in the period the 1810s and the Famine; Liberals were not simply a group of indecisive and derivative 'fence-sitters'. Furthermore, many of those Liberals who became so disillusioned in the 1840s that they cast their lot with the Repeal Movement, did so because they despaired of achieving change in Ireland through the British Parliamentary system, using constitutional means. This did not necessarily indicate that they abandoned all of their key Liberal tenets. On the contrary, it may not be too great a leap to see the more moderate wing of Young Ireland, under Thomas Davis and William Smith O'Brien, as a descendant of Irish Liberalism just as much as of O'Connellite Nationalism. At the level of its leadership at least, Young Ireland was neither sectarian in intent, nor atheistic; they envisaged a non-denominational Ireland led by a united Catholic and Protestant elite, and this represented continuity from the ideals developed by Irish Liberals in the 1820s. Thus on this issue Young Ireland can be seen as a variation on the Irish Liberal theme. However, in the 1840s Smith O'Brien did suffer a collapse in his faith that the Union could be used to achieve Irish Liberal goals. In this sense, it was this belief in a Liberal form of Irish nationality which prompted his conversion to a more whole-hearted Nationalism, and which led to his transportation to Van Diemen's Land for his role in the 1848 Rising.

This chapter does not claim that Irish Liberals changed the outcome of Irish political events, nor that their vision was necessarily realistic. It does show, however, that Irish Liberals

---

[176] *cf.* MacDonagh's contention that O'Connell was the main representative of Liberalism in Ireland because he adhered to some of the elements of classical English political economy and to European Enlightenment views of individual liberty. Oliver MacDonagh, 'O'Connell's ideology' in Brockliss and Eastwood, *Union of Multiple Identities*, 147-61. This view relies on the assumption that Irish Liberalism was derived from European Liberalism, via English Liberalism. This is probably flawed because prior to the failure of Chartism, English Radicalism (which was associated with these ideas) and English Liberalism were ideologically and politically separate. See Chapter 7 below for the relationship between English Radicalism and English Liberalism, and between English and Irish Liberalisms.

[177] Wyse to George Wyse, 8 Aug. 1843, Wyse papers, NLI ms 15019(10).

made a difference to the range of options that Irish voters and politicians had in the first half of the century, and to the way ideologies and political groupings changed in nineteenth-century Ireland. Furthermore, these shifts in elite ideology in the early nineteenth century explain how it was possible for some Irish Protestants to make the transition to Nationalism. We cannot discount the possibility that some members of the Irish elite experienced sudden and dramatic political conversions that involved the rejection of their former values, as did Isaac Butt when he defended O'Connell at his trial in 1843.[178] However, this is not a satisfactory explanation for many Protestant Nationalist leaders. Instead, Irish Liberalism can be seen as one of the forerunners that made it possible for Irish Protestant reforming landlords like Charles Parnell to become Nationalist leaders in the later nineteenth century.[179] On the other hand, some Liberals like Aubrey de Vere chose to stay within a Unionist tradition, because the still believed that it could be used to achieved a Liberal Ireland. For example, in 1896 Stephen de Vere (Sir Aubrey de Vere's brother) identified his Liberal Unionism as a direct descendent of the Liberalism developed by Spring Rice, and he predicted that 'The day will come when they [Unionist governments in England] will run, having abandoned the Liberal Unionist gentlemen of Ireland.'[180]

We cannot assume that eighteenth-century Irish Protestant Patriotism led directly to late nineteenth-century Nationalism among Protestants, as has been made clear by Jacqueline Hill and by many other recent reassessments of eighteenth-century Patriotism.[181] In addition, it is not satisfactory to ignore Protestant Nationalists, on the grounds that they were unrepresentative and relatively unimportant in what some historians suggest was a popular Nationalist movement. Instead, some Unionists and some Nationalists shared a view of what an ideal Ireland should be like, but differed on the most effective method of achieving those

---

[178] Leon O Broin, 'The trial and imprisonment of O'Connell, 1843', *Eire-Ireland* 8:4 (1973), 39-47.

[179] D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *Parnell in Perspective* (London and New York, 1991).

[180] Sir Stephen Edward de Vere to Thomas Spring Rice (2nd Baron Monteagle), 27 July [1896], Monteagle papers in possession of Lord Monteagle. See also Andrew Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness: the experience of constructive Unionism 1890-1905* (Cork, 1987).

[181] Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*, 1-15; Joep Leerson, 'Anglo-Irish Patriotism and its european context: notes towards a reassessment', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988), 7-24.

ends. Indeed there existed throughout the nineteenth century a range of positions within the Nationalist movement about how great that separation should be.[182] It is likely that many Protestant members of the elite who became Nationalists did not turn wholly against their elite status, their Protestant religion, and their most basic ideological assumptions, in order to embrace Catholic Nationalism. Instead, they maintained their most cherished values, but turned to Nationalism as a method for creating a new, Liberal Ireland. The next chapter explains how Liberal political ideology affected elite approaches to the wider question of national identity in Ireland.

---

[182] See Comerford's reassessment of Irish and British politics between 1848 and 1882, R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish politics and society 1848-82* (Dublin, 1985), 142-94. In this period, he argues that Catholic politics veered uncomfortably between two poles, sometimes seeking self-determination, and at other times seeking a place in British Liberal politics.

CHAPTER 6

BRITISH AND IRISH IDENTITIES IN IRELAND

> ... whilst we pride ourselves upon our birth-place, as Irishmen, [we also] add to our distinctions the glory of being Britons.[1]

This chapter makes three main points. In the first place, a number of different versions of British identity co-existed within the nineteenth-century United Kingdom, and even within Ireland. Liberal members of the Irish elite saw themselves as British but not English, which allowed them to claim support from, and membership of, the British State without relinquishing their Irish status. Second, claiming membership of a British nation or of an Irish nation was a political act, in the broadest sense of the phrase. These identities had cultural, religious, and ethnic elements, which in turn had political ramifications. However, political ideology also played an important direct role in shaping the nature of those identities for particular individuals and groups. Liberal ideology, which was based on Liberal Protestant theology, prevented Irish Liberals from defining either Irish or British national identities in terms of religious denomination. Instead, they developed a view of the British nation which was inclusive, and pluralist in religion and culture; membership of the British nation extended to all subjects of the Crown, regardless of their religious denomination, cultural identity, ethnicity, or place of abode. This chapter examines the implications of Liberal versions of citizenship and Unionism for Irish Liberals' sense of national identity; and how they used the terms 'Britain', 'Union', United Kingdom', and 'the Empire'. Finally, the elite in Ireland found it necessary to claim Irish identity, in order to maintain and reinforce their legitimate leadership within Ireland. Therefore they refused to accept the notion that British and Irish identities were incompatible. They achieved this by defining the Irish nation in territorial and cultural terms, and stripping it of those aspirations to independent statehood that Nationalists cherished. Though Irish Liberals eventually lost their battle for an Irish cultural nation within a pluralist British nation-state, the contest over national identity was much less conclusive in the first half of the century than in the second half.

---

[1] Sir James Emerson Tenant's speech in the House of Commons debate on the Repeal of the Union, *Hansard* 3, xxii (24 April 1834), 1314.

In the late eighteenth century the elite came under attack, but was not systematically excluded from Irish identity.[2] By the second quarter of the nineteenth century O'Connell and others were making the accusation that this elite acted in the interests of the British State upon which they relied, rather than in the interests of the Irish people. Thus the true Irish were Catholic. As he wrote in his polemical pamphlet, *A Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon*, during the Reformation,

> the distinction of race was lost. Irish and English were amalgamated for the purpose of enduring spoil and oppression under the name of Catholics. The party which the English government supported was composed of persons lately arrived in Ireland ... there was never a people on the face of the earth so cruelly, so basely, treated as the Irish. There was never a faction so stained with blood - so blackened with crime as that Orange faction, which, under the name of Protestant, seeks to retain the remnants of their abused power, by keeping in activity the spirit which created and continued the infamous penal persecution ...[3]

Both the Ascendancy's Irishness and their legitimacy as an elite were denied.

The Union had produced circumstances in which the Irish elite could make substantial gains by claiming both British and Irish identity, and for this reason the Union itself provided an important transformative element in the construction of Irish identity. But the Union also made the Ascendancy vulnerable. The twin aims of Catholic Emancipation and Repeal, which were both intimately connected with opposition to the Union, therefore came to be an important focus in the process of re-imagining the Ascendancy in the nineteenth century as merely English colonisers and invaders, unchanged from their seventeenth-century ancestors. However, the most important brake on the elite's capacity to claim Irish identity came as a result of the Famine. The elite's failure to protect the Irish people from this catastrophe, or to influence the British State sufficiently to gain its support, ultimately undermined their claim to leadership within Ireland.

Recent historical debate has sometimes endorsed, and sometimes criticised, the idea that British identity is a useful concept in understanding issues in Irish History. Those who use the concept usually see British identity as unified and stable, and spread evenly throughout all the different parts of the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century and, therefore, argue

---

[2] This was probably impossible because political life in Ireland was exclusively Protestant and because of the Presbyterian leadership of the United Irishmen.

[3] Daniel O'Connell, *A Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon* (Dublin, 1843), 4 and 17.

that United Kingdom possessed more uniformity than other historians would suggest.[4] Some historians assume that if these premises are disproved, then the notion of British identity itself will be undermined.[5] However, these assumptions are misguided, because they do not take sufficient account of the fact that national identities were culturally constructed in particular historical circumstances, that it was entirely normal for several versions of national identity to co-exist and compete at any one time, and that national identities also changed over time.[6] This failure to recognise the co-existence of different versions of British national identity under the Union, has led Linda Colley (for example) to argue that Ireland 'was never able or willing to play a satisfactory part' in British national identity because it was

> cut off from Great Britain by the sea ... [and] it was cut off still more effectively by the prejudices of the English, Welsh and Scots, and by the self-image of the bulk of the Irish themselves, both Protestants and Catholics.[7]

In fact, the argument that British identity both existed and mattered in Ireland as well as in other parts of the nineteenth-century United Kingdom, is entirely consistent with the argument that there were different versions of British identity, both within the United Kingdom and among groups within any one region.[8]

---

[4] This assumption of uniformity is a flaw in Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992) which has, nevertheless been one of the most important stimuli for research on British identity under the Union. There are some important exceptions to this view of a homogeneous British identity: Keith Robbins, 'An imperial and multinational polity' in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds), *Uniting the Kingdom? the making of British history* (London and New York, 1995), 250-253 and his *Nineteenth-century Britain, England, Scotland, and Wales: the making of a nation* (Oxford, 1995, 2nd ed.); and D. George Boyce, 'Brahmins and camivores: the Irish historian in Great Britain', *IHS* 25:99 (1987), 225-35.

[5] Stephen Ellis, 'Historiographical debate: representations of the past in Ireland: whose past and whose present?' *IHS* 27 (1991), 289-308, who argues that despite a degree of variation in identity between England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the latter three were no more different from English identity than were northern regional identities in England from London metropolitan identity. See also critiques of British four-nations model in Ronald G. Asch (ed.), *Three Nations - a common history? England, Scotland, Ireland and British history c.1600-1920* (Bochum, 1993).

[6] Keith Robbins makes the very important point that historians need to be wary of the idea that national identities (or even regional identities) consisted of a deep underlying core of beliefs, attitudes, values, and genes that were transmitted unchanged and uncontaminated over generations. Robbins, 'An Imperial and multinational polity', 249-250.

[7] Colley, *Britons*, 8, 322-3.

[8] The original inspiration for a new 'British History' was a series of articles by Professor John Pocock, who suggested its primary theme should be the creation and interaction of a variety of cultures and sub-cultures in the 'Atlantic archipelago'. J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: a plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975), 601-621 and his 'The Limits and divisions of British History: in search of the unknown subject', *American Historical Review* 87 (1982), 311-336.

This chapter takes,a rather different approach from some previous treatments of British identity within the United Kingdom. It looks at British identity outside England, where the distinction between British and English identities was more sharply drawn and more meaningful; it assesses what British identity meant to a particular group of people and what function it served, how this interacted with other versions of identity (especially with emerging visions of Irish national identity), and how these debates reflected and shaped the historical circumstances in which they were embedded.

I. Britishness in Ireland

Membership of the British State in the nineteenth century did not mean that the Irish elite unequivocally accepted English ideas and influences, that they remained or became even more English, or that they placed little value on membership of an Irish nation. As previous chapters have shown, the Irish elite defended its own interests in Ireland. It saw co-operation with the British State as a method of achieving these goals, on condition that the British State continued to support its claims to leadership within Ireland.[9] Under the Union, it was more important than ever before that the elite developed a form of British identity that did not require them to conform to English ideas and models entirely, but which allowed them to claim protection and funds from the British State. Thus elites outside England required a more flexible model of the British nation than those at the centre, and in particular, most were uncomfortable about being constrained within the narrower confines of English national identity.

The Irish elite had a substantial interest in subscribing to a form of British identity because it allowed them to participate in and make demands on the British State. Proving that the British State was in debt to the Irish was frequently done by reminders that the Irish had sacrificed their lives in the British Army, in defence of the British State against Revolutionary

---

[9] The idea of conditional allegiance was also important in shaping a different version of British identity, in Ulster. Jennifer Todd, 'Unionist political thought 1920-72' in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1993), 205; Thomas Hennessy, 'Ulster Unionist territorial and national identities 1886-1893: province, island, kingdom and empire', *Irish Political Studies* 8 (1993), 21-36. *cf.* David W. Miller, *Queen's Rebels: Ulster loyalism in historical perspective* (Dublin, 1978), who argues that Ulster Loyalism is a *replacement* for either British or Ulster nationality, because it stems from Ulster's 'external relationship to the British state' and not her 'wholehearted sense of incorporation into the British nation.' *Queen's Rebels*, 120.

France.[10] William Vesey Fitzgerald (then, Member for Clare) took the opportunity to make this point when his speech to the House of Commons in 1814 was interrupted by Wellington's entry to the House after the Battle of Waterloo. Vesey Fitzgerald told the assembly that

> You owe to Ireland that Great Captain [Wellington] who has led you to victory. ... Ireland has bled; Ireland has opened her sluice gates in your cause, and if Britain is justly glorious in the battle she fought, Ireland has a right to participate in her triumph. ... Let us not forget how Ireland has manned your fleets.[11]

British identity in Ireland was created under very different conditions and was used for very different purposes, than was English identity. Undisputed membership of the British nation was essential to the Irish elite's claims to influence within the British State. However, they also resisted complete absorption into a metropolitan English elite identity. This would have undermined their claim to the status of expert witnesses on Irish affairs within Westminster, and it would also have undermined their claim to leadership within Ireland.

Despite this common requirement for some form of British identity among the elite, it is clear that this identity could take a variety of forms. For example, Hill and Boyce have both shown that Unionism did not make Irish Patriot 'Tories' less Irish, but it did make them more aware of ways in which 'Britishness' could be used to their advantage.[12] In the first decades of the nineteenth century they learned to reconcile conflicting impulses by claiming British identity when it suited them, and this opened up new possibilities for defending a Protestant polity and an elitist, monarchist society. For Evangelicals and High Churchmen in particular, and for nineteenth-century Irish 'Tories' in general, British identity was not bounded by territory, but was instead about the extension of Protestantism and Civilisation.[13] In this version of British

---

[10] Colley argues that popular loyalty within 'mainland' Britain was demonstrated in the same way. Colley, *Britons*, ch.7, 283-319; Alan Booth, 'Popular loyalism and public violence in the north-west of England, 1790-1800', *Social History* 8 (1983), 295-314.

[11] Vesey Fitzgerald's speech to the House of Commons on Irish Finance, *Hansard 1*, xxvii (1 June 1814), 497-8. This motif of sacrifice in British wars was also central to Ulster Unionist versions of Britishness in the Great War. David Officer, 'Representing War: the Somme Heritage Centre', *History Ireland* 3:1 (Jan. 1995), 38-42.

[12] D. George Boyce, 'Trembling solicitude: Irish conservatism, nationality and public opinion, 1833-86' in Boyce, Eccleshall and Geoghegan, *Political Thought in Ireland*, 124-45; Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), 275-80.

[13] *Ibid.*; Joseph Spence, 'The Philosophy of Irish Toryism, 1833-52' (PhD, London, 1991); see also Chapter 2; the issue of British identity and Protestantism is considered below.

identity, Irish loyalists became 'the very cement of the Union'.[14]

Liberals used Britishness in a specific but different way: membership of the British nation offered them an identity which was not the same as English identity, and which did not require any disavowal of Irish identity. In addition, their religious and political thought, which rested on a pluralist foundation, meant that Liberals had to rethink the link that other members of the Irish elite made between Protestantism and British identity.

II. Britishness and Protestantism

Traditionally, it has been assumed that Protestantism, and an increasingly evangelical Protestantism, was the most important defining feature of British identity both within the Union and among British groups throughout the Empire.[15] This had particular relevance to Ulster Unionist versions of British identity.[16] Ian McBride is concerned to redress what he sees as the predominance of work on British identity in Ireland that concentrates on southern Unionists. He argues that British identity was a Scottish creation, in response to the Union between Scotland and England.[17] In the Ulster context, he suggests that British identity was based on the Scottish Presbyterian version, reinforced by the close links between Ulster and Scotland.[18] By

---

[14] Plunket, *Hansard 2*, xxix (12 June 1828), 1260.

[15] Colley, *Britons*; C.A. Bayley, *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989); John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: religion and national life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London, 1994) and his *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991).

[16] Terence Brown, *The Whole Protestant Community: the making of a historical myth* (Field Day Pamphlet 7, Derry, 1985); David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London and New York, 1992); Jennifer Todd, 'Unionist political thought 1920-72' and her 'Two traditions in Unionist political culture', *Irish Political Studies* 2 (1987), 3-11; Graham Walker, 'Empire, religion and nationality in Scotland and Ulster before the First World War' in I.S. Wood (ed.), *Scotland and Ulster* (Edinburgh, 1994), 95-115.

[17] Ian McBride, 'Ulster and the British problem' in Richard English and Graham Walker (eds), *Unionism in Modern Ireland* (London, 1996), 1-18. This rests on work done by John Morrill, 'The fashioning of Britain' in S.G. Ellis and S. Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: fashioning a British State 1485-1725* (London, 1995), 8-39; Nicholas Phillipson, 'Nationalism and Ideology' in J.N. Wolfe (ed.), *Government and Nationalism in Scotland: an enquiry by members of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1969), 167-88; Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century patriotisms', *Historical Journal* 39:2 (1996), 361-382. This view of British identity as the result of Anglo-Scottish interaction also agrees with Linda Colley, however Kidd's view is more pluralist than Colley's.

[18] This relates to his work on Presbyterian political thought, Ian McBride, 'The school of virtue: Francis Hutcheson, Irish Presbyterians and the Scottish Enlightenment' in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political Thought in Ireland since the*

implication, he suggests that the sectarian issues in nineteenth-century Ulster gave even greater emphasis to Protestantism, so that by the early twentieth century it was inseparable from British identity.[19] However, it is necessary to re-swing the pendulum to a degree. While McBride may be right that Ulster Presbyterian views of British identity were derived from eighteenth-century Scottish ones, this argument cannot be sustained for the Church of Ireland elite in the South. Nor can it be argued that the Church of Ireland elite derived their notions of British identity from Ulster Presbyterians.[20] Protestantism played a much more complex role in British identity within Ireland. The religious debates among members of the Church of Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the granting of Catholic Emancipation, had extensive and important implications for Irish elite views of British identity.

Britishness as an exclusively Anglican or even broadly Protestant identity was problematic in the nineteenth century, when Catholic Emancipation redefined the political 'nation' and when increasing numbers of Irish Catholics became involved at all levels of the Empire, in the Army, the professions, colonial postings at all levels, and as settlers and convicts. Protestants in Ireland reacted to these circumstances in diverse ways, as has been explained in Chapters 2 to 4. However, we need to recognise that these various reactions also had direct effects on Irish views of British identity, and that these were closely related to political ideologies. Church of Ireland Evangelicals and High Churchmen generally attributed whatever goodness which existed in Ireland to the link with a Protestant Britain. So, by 1826 Rev. Henry Irwin was literally 'preaching to the converted' when he told a Bible Society meeting that,

> Whatever institutions exist for the amelioration of man, all receive their existence or impulse from Britain; that fountain whence branch out a thousand rills to fertilize the world. On this basis rests [Britain's] real greatness, her security, her immortality, as a nation. While she distributes the Word of life to all parts of the globe, whatever commercial returns she may receive, she gives more than she takes, and enriches the world. Eminent as she is for arts and arms, it is her generous, her pious benevolence which makes her pre-eminent. This is the fluid

---

Seventeenth Century (London and New York, 1993), 73-99.

[19] see also Peter Gibbon, *The Origins of Ulster Unionism: the formation of popular Protestant politics and ideology in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Manchester, 1975), 136.

[20] McBride does not argue this point specifically, however his suggestion is that Ulster Presbyterian notions of British identity were more historically significant. With respect to modern-day Northern Ireland (which was his concern in this piece) he is probably correct, but his conclusions do depend on the locus of historical view. See also E.W. McFarland, *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution: planting the green bough* (Edinburgh, 1994), esp. ch.1.

> which feeds her, and the glory which surrounds her. Whatever we may ascribe to her unrivalled constitution, whatever improvement we may trace to the progress of education, intellect and science, I am confident that Great Britain is indebted, under God, for her great moral and political prosperity, to the influence, sure, though unobserved, which *Bible-principle* has exercised on the general character and spirit of the country.[21]

As a corollary they argued that the British State had a religious duty to support Protestants in Ireland against the Papists. As the Earl of Roden (President of the Royal Hibernian Society) argued during the Famine,

> the British nation has been exalted into circumstances of which many had little or no conception, involving duty and obligation from which there is no escape - raised up, in the providence of God, mainly as a witness to the truth.[22]

Irish Liberal views of the British nation ran in an opposite direction, which was determined in large part by the religious basis of their ideology. Therefore, Irish Liberals vociferously denounced a form of Britishness that was exclusively Anglican or even Protestant, that used the rule of law as a tool to achieve obedience and submission, and that involved imposing an exclusive English cultural identity on other groups within the Union. The Liberal construction of British identity was a way of claiming the right to negotiate with the pluralist Christian British State despite their subordinate position, and of turning the circumstances of the Union to their advantage. In this sense, they saw it as a support for, rather than a replacement of, their Irishness. In addition, this was an identity open to all those Catholics who were prepared to profess loyalty to the monarch, regardless of the King's role as head of the Church of England and of the Act of Succession. Liberals felt they had received confirmation that British identity was available to Catholics in Ireland, when George IV was received so effusively by Catholics when he visited Ireland in 1821.[23]

---

[21] Rev. Henry Irwin (later Archdeacon of Emly), 1826 Bible Society meeting, quoted in Godfrey Massy, *The Faithful Shepherd: memoir, with sketches of his times* ed. Dawson Massy (London, 1870, 4th ed. [1855]), 85-6.

[22] *41st Report of the Hibernian Bible Society* (Dublin, 1847), xliii-xliv.

[23] *Freeman's Journal*, 15, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29 August 1822. O'Connell went so far as to crown the King with a laurel.

III. Political Ideology and British Identity

Whatever other elements it included, Irish elite versions of British identity necessarily included membership of the British political State; it was a direct result of the Union which represented nationhood in terms of political statehood. In addition, the Irish elite recognised that membership of the British political State through the Union was necessary to the maintenance of their power in Ireland. Irish 'Tories' thought this membership of a British political State was necessary to protect their ascendancy as a Protestant elite, while Irish Liberals looked to the British State for assistance in re-defining that leadership in more legitimate and broadly Christian terms. For this reason, British identity in Ireland was closely related to the debates on political and civil rights and obligations.

For Irish Liberals, Britishness was directly connected with statehood, and therefore with the constitutional relationship between Ireland and the British State under the Union.[24] Therefore, Britishness for them necessarily involved acceptance of the core political features of the British State, which included the monarchy, representative parliamentary government, the system of checks and balances that were guaranteed by the British Constitution, and the rule of Law. British identity was therefore opposed to republicanism and democracy; both post-revolutionary France and radical versions of Irish Catholic Nationalism were of necessity represented as 'others' against Britishness. As Spring Rice put it, if the Repeal of the Union were carried, and the connection of Ireland to the British State was broken, then the result would be

> a fierce democratic Republic, which, however some Gentlemen may regard as a blessing, I, as the attached subject of the constitutional Monarchy, should deplore as one of the greatest of evils. Separation, in fact, is aimed at. ... Sir, constitutional liberty I am ready to worship; but I reject the idol of democratic liberty which the hon. and learned Gentleman would place upon our altars. ... [the result would be]

---

[24] A. Aughey 'Unionism and self-determination' in P.J. Roche and B. Barton (eds), *The Northern Ireland Question: myth and reality* (Aldershot, 1991), 14, who argues that Unionism operates within a framework defined by citizenship, while Nationalism is defined by the idea of self-determination. *cf.* Anne Dummett and Andrew Nichol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others: nationality and immigration law* (London, 1990), ch.2. They argue that British nationality was concerned with subjecthood and not citizenship, because Scottish and English people owed allegiance to the Crown after the Act of Union in 1707. Regardless, the Liberal approach to citizenship meant that a specifically Protestant view of British national identity, whether based on citizenship or the wider category of subjecthood, was no longer available to them - see below.

the entire destruction of our country.[25]

British national identity also had a cultural aspect, to the extent that Irish Liberals believed in the notion of a British civilisation which was based on a system of values, culture, and attitudes that were broadly Christian. On the other hand, Irish Liberals specifically repudiated a version of British national identity that was more narrowly Protestant, which sought to limit membership and participation of Catholics, and the extension of narrowly English Protestant cultural values to Ireland.[26] Furthermore, the claim to British identity was not linked with territory: one could live in Ireland and still be British, or live in New South Wales and be British, just as easily as English residents could be British. Finally, Liberals had a particular concern with the British State as an over-arching nation and political structure which could encompass the denominational, cultural, linguistic and regional diversity that the United Kingdom represented, and that the 'British world' represented.[27] What was most striking about Liberal British identity in Ireland was its flexibility, and its particular utility for a weak elite.

The various ways of using the terms 'Union' and 'Empire' show that most members of the Irish elite recognised that Irish and English elite interests were different (and might even be actively opposed to one another). This meant that Ireland's ambiguous status under the Union could be used by the Irish elite to demand a range of political concessions. Irish Liberals, for example, could not allow themselves to be entirely absorbed into an English identity, despite their need to participate in British politics in London. This would have prevented them from protecting their specifically Irish interests, and from demanding fair treatment from the British State.[28]

Irish identity was not made irrelevant among the elite by their acceptance of British identity, because it was their Irish identity that legitimised the elite's claims to leadership within

---

[25] Spring Rice's speech in the House of Commons debate on the Repeal of the Union, *Hansard* 3, xxii (24 April 1834), 1281-1282.

[26] This issue has been addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

[27] Many Liberals were, in theory, willing to accept racial diversity within the British nation (including the colonies) as well, but in practice this was increasingly problematic.

[28] *cf.* Tom Dunne, who argued that the Union absorbed the Irish Ascendancy into the metropolitan system and, in so doing, put them in direct confrontation with the majority population. Tom Dunne, 'Ireland, England and Empire 1868-1886: the ideologies of British political leadership' (PhD, Cambridge, 1976), 3.

Ireland. Irish identity justified their assertion that only the Irish elite could truly understand the unique circumstances that applied in Ireland, and therefore added weight to their claim to power within the British State. Thus a generalised identification with Englishness was a liability, especially if it was defined in an exclusive fashion, because it did not allow the Irish elite a way of negotiating between British, English, and Irish identities and interests, nor did it allow for a pragmatic and selective adoption of useful ideas. Like all constructions, elite notions of Irishness and Britishness were always a matter for debate and negotiation, but this negotiation was even more important for them than for most Englishmen because it shaped the role that they were able to play in Ireland itself, in the British State, and ultimately in the Empire. Thus Britishness was more important and more carefully defined by non-English elite groups than by those in the English metropolis.

In the early nineteenth century, it was possible for Irish Liberals to adhere to a construction of British identity that could balance their consciousness of separate Irish interests and their demands for fair treatment from the British State on one hand, with their need to participate in the British political context as well as the Irish, and their hope of influencing British ideas. Richard Bourke argued that the

> connexion [between the 'British Islands'] had existence previously to the Union; which but drew it closer. ... [and that the Union merely] augmented the attraction of our cohesion; condensing what had been politically consolidated theretofore.[29]

In his famous pro-Union speech in the Commons in 1834, Thomas Spring Rice went further in outlining what kind of relationship was involved. O'Connell had argued that Ireland was a mere province of England and not an equal partner in the Union. Spring Rice replied that Ireland was no subordinate province, nor had it been wholly absorbed into England. Instead, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland were all member-States of Britain, and that Ireland was so much an equal partner in this 'United Empire' that it might even be called 'West Britain'. He argued that,

> There are cases with nations as with individuals, in which it is necessary, for the purpose of arriving at a just conclusion, to appeal to the dispassionate judgment of a third party. I believe, that both Scotland and Ireland have found, in the Imperial

---

[29] [Sir Richard Bourke], 'Athamik', *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora* (Dublin, 1820), 7.

> Parliament, easier redress of many local evils, than they could have found in separate Legislatures of their own, swayed as those Legislatures would have been by conflicting interests.[30]

In addition, membership of the British State also gave the Irish and English elites reciprocal influence which was not indicative of an Irish subordinate status. Thus he claimed that he

> as much belong[ed] to England, and [had] as much a right to all the privileges of an Englishman as the proudest Howard who walks the earth; and in like manner the Howard belongs to Ireland as fully as if born there. We are all subjects of one King - we live under the protection of one and the same law - we belong to one United Empire - and it is a delusion, and a delusion attempted for the most mischievous purposes, to promulgate the notion that Ireland can be considered a province.[31]

Realistically, Ireland was not a 'province', nor did anyone seriously believe that it could be more than a subordinate player in the Union; both notions were exaggerated for rhetorical effect. Despite Spring Rice's claim that Ireland was wholly absorbed into Britain, he did not see himself as exclusively English and he wanted to claim recognition for Irish difference (and in particular for different circumstances which required different treatment). It was also clear that Spring Rice needed Irish identity in order to justify his assertion that only the Irish elite could truly understand the unique circumstances that applied in Ireland, and that they should therefore have an important voice within the British State on Irish affairs in particular. Thus Spring Rice's assertion that Ireland, Scotland, and England were equal partners within the Union allowed him to justify his claim for more resources, prestige and recognition for Ireland within the British State.

Interestingly, Liberals thought that if they could prove that they were a legitimate and responsive elite, this would also provide evidence of their essential Irishness - that they belonged and were not a foreign and unwelcome imposition. On the other hand, the fact that the elite's relationship with the British State was conditional on both sides, meant that they could not afford wholly to embrace the idea of metropolitan English identity to the exclusion of their Irishness. Instead, they adhered to a construction of British identity that was elastic but decidedly not English. For this reason, Spring Rice argued that the Union did not represent the attempted imperial domination of Ireland by a foreign English State:

---

[30] Spring Rice's Speech in the Debate on the Repeal of the Union, *Hansard* 3, xxii (24 April 1834), 1194.

[31] *Ibid.*, 1188.

> Who governs Ireland? - who legislates for Ireland? Why, the Parliament of the United Kingdom; not the Parliament of England, - a Parliament in which, I am sure, that gentlemen on the other side of the House, will not deny, that Ireland is fairly and ably represented.[32]

By becoming British, the Irish lost none of their sense of national identity as a 'separate people', but they could balance Irish identity with participation in a powerful State. As Emerson Tenant told the House of Commons,

> Does the inhabitant of any Irish province lose aught in individual dignity by being enabled to say, that, in addition to being an Irishman, he is likewise a citizen of the most enlightened and commanding nation of modern times, not admitted by courtesy to a participation of its wealth and resources, but enjoying them as of right and inheritance? Is it no accession of dignity to an Irish member of this House that he sits here to legislate, not merely for the concerns of his own little island, but for the interests of the most opulent and powerful empire in the universe, - interests which are his own, in common with every inhabitant of Britain?[33]

Thus the Liberal view of British identity was pluralist in religious and cultural terms, and was not exclusively Protestant or English.

In the early nineteenth century Irish Liberals generally used the term 'Empire' to denote a broadly British world, but it was inherently elastic. Ireland was included in the broadest meaning of 'Empire', not because they saw themselves as a colonial elite, but because they wished to claim a kind of British identity that gave them access to all the benefits, patronage, and postings available in the British imperial world.[34] As Emerson Tenant told the Parliament in 1834, membership of the British nation gave Irishmen the chance to participate in

> extending the blessings of freedom from the confines of India to the remotest shores of the Atlantic; to liberate the Hindoo, and to strike off the fetters of the African. ... these are honours which enable us, whilst we pride ourselves upon our birth-place, as Irishmen, to add to our distinctions the glory of being Britons.[35]

Irish Liberals were, however, careful not to include Ireland in the concept of 'Empire' in

---

[32] *Ibid.*, 1179.

[33] Emerson Tenant's speech in the House of Commons debate on the Repeal of the Union, *Ibid.*, (24 April 1834), 1297, 1313.

[34] *cf.* Ulster Protestant versions of Empire. See Walker, 'Empire, religion and nationality'; Donal Lowry, 'Ulster resistance and loyalist rebellion in the Empire' in Keith Jeffery (ed.), *'An Irish Empire?' aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996), 191-215.

[35] Sir James Emerson Tenant's Speech in the Debate on the Repeal of the Union, *Hansard 3*, xxii (24 April 1834), 1314. As the Liberal Member for Belfast from 1832, he gave enthusiastic support to Spring Rice in particular, and to the 1830s Whig governments in general. This held firm until 1834, when he was one of the few Irish Liberals to join Lord Stanley's defection on the Appropriation question (see Chapter 7). After 1834 Emerson Tenant supported Peel, and referred to himself as a 'Liberal-Conservative'. *DNB*.

circumstances where the term would have implied an inferior status. This not only reflected Irish elite interests, it also reflected the reality of the Irish position that lay somewhere between being wholly British and being a mere colony. A well-known example of this kind of the elastic construction of 'British Empire' was put forward by the Aubrey de Vere in his book *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds*, published during the Famine. He argued that it had been unjust of Britain to confer on Ireland 'empirical [Empire-ical] legislation, ... prejudiced discussion, and ... contemptuous and capricious benevolence' in the decades before the Famine.[36] He claimed that this amounted to misrule because it implied subordinate and colonial status when Ireland's membership of the Union made it fully British, and therefore equal to England. De Vere concluded that the two kingdoms should not be not only 'intertangled', but truly 'united',

> retaining each with its own name whatever is best in its separate character and recollections, [and] blend[-ing] together the excellence of both... May the imperial nation thus built up be worthy of its destinies, and show to the inferior nations of the earth for what cause nationalities exist.[37]

It was England's capacity to combine with a number of equal but independent kingdoms that transformed it into a British nation and made it capable of spreading Christian civilisation throughout the world. Thus it was more than the sum of the parts, and certainly more than a narrowly defined English nation. However, Liberals believed that this Britishness must also take account of variations in local circumstances and cultures in order to work; it must be flexible and inclusive.[38]

---

[36] Aubrey de Vere, *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds* (London, 1848), 264. Written during the Famine, this should be read as a response to the Irish policy of the Whig government, and to Young Ireland Nationalism.

[37] *Ibid.*, 264.

[38] For the role of pluralism in British Liberal theory, see Isiah Berlin and Bernard Williams, 'Pluralism and liberalism: a reply', *Political Studies* 42 (1994), 306-309; Monique Deveaux, 'Cultural Pluralism in Liberal and Democratic Thought' (PhD, Cambridge, 1997); Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton, 1993). This theme is further explored in Chapter 7.

IV. Irish Identity Among the Elite

Some historians have denied that the elite claimed Irish identity at all, have downplayed it, or have focused on the rejection of that claim. For example, Michael McConville argues that the Irish elite was an English garrison and oligarchy, whose identity was determined by their role as English colonisers. He also argues that Irish identity was an incidental by-product of their role in defending England against Catholic encroachment.[39] Thus there were individuals who were happy to relinquish Irish identity. For example, the Duke of Wellington was famous for his comment that being born in Ireland did not make him Irish, any more than being born in a stable would have made him a horse. Others have identified a 'hybrid' identity among the elite, which lay somewhere between English and Irish identities, and have focused on the Irish elite's attempts to ape the English elite but their failure to gain unconditional acceptance as part of that elite.[40] Clearly both were possibilities for members of this elite under the Union. However, they were not the only ways of resolving the elite dilemma. Irish Liberals claimed Irish nationality by defining it in cultural and territorial terms, but in rejecting political Nationalist aspirations. By separating cultural nationhood from Statehood, they were able to maintain that Irish and British nations were not mutually exclusive, but were compatible.

There is a degree of disagreement among theorists and historians about whether it is possible to have a national identity that is not defined in political terms. Most political scientists, and many historians argue that Nationalism must be defined in political terms, and that it involved an aspiration to a form of Statehood which reflected the 'imagined community'.[41] According to Benedict Anderson, an 'imagined community' was usually based on a belief in shared origins (ethnicity) or a shared system of values, attitudes and cultural assumptions (national identity).[42] In a variation on this theme, John Breuilly argues that Nationalism was necessarily political, but he argues that it was not necessarily based on either national identity or ethnicity (which he implies are fuzzy and unhelpful concepts).[43] However, John Hutchinson's

---

[39] Michael McConville, *Ascendancy to Oblivion* (London, 1986), 2.

[40] Terence de Vere White, *The Anglo-Irish* (London, 1972).

[41] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986).

[42] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991, 2nd ed.).

[43] He suggested that those who assume the contrary are simply accepting the rationalisations of Nationalist leaders. John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, 1993, 2nd ed.),

treatment of Cultural Nationalism in Ireland during the nineteenth century is more helpful in interpreting elite views of Irish identity that those of political scientists. He has argued that Nationalism can take either a cultural or a political form, and he has used the Gaelic revival of late nineteenth-century Ireland as an example of Cultural Nationalism. The notions of Irish national identity that this revival involved could be expressed in either elite or popular forms. Hutchinson has also argued that the aims of Cultural Nationalists were different from those of political Nationalists.[44] This theoretical discussion suggests that it was possible to define 'the nation' in either cultural or political ways, and that the two could co-exist.

In the eighteenth-century some of the Ascendancy had become so conscious of difference from England that they presented themselves as Irish Patriots, and supported an independent Irish parliament.[45] Historians are now reassessing eighteenth-century patriotism, and increasingly reject the notion that it was a prototype for nineteenth-century Irish Nationalism. Eighteenth-century Irish patriotism is now seen as a sense of place and a desire for a degree of autonomy (in political and economic terms), but not the desire for the cultural, political, and legal independence that was more typical of nineteenth-century Irish Nationalists. In addition, Irish patriotism was almost wholly an elite and Protestant phenomenon, which does not fit with the religious and ethnic assumptions associated with nineteenth-century Catholic-Gaelic Nationalism.[46] The fact that many of these patriots went on to embrace Unionism after

---

404-7. See also his critique of Anthony Smith in 'Approaches to Nationalism' in B. Hartmann (ed.), *Formen des nationalen Bewußtseins im Lichte zeitgenössischer Nationalismustheorien* (Munich, 1993); and Paul Gilroy, 'Nationalism, history and ethnic absolutism', *History Workshop Journal* 30 (1990), 114-20.

[44] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: the Gaelic revival and the making of the Irish nation state* (London, 1987); See also Walker Connor, 'When is a Nation?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13:1 (1990), 92-103 and critique in John Hutchinson, *Modern Nationalism* (London, 1994), ch.1.

[45] See Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: the catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992); Hill, *Patriots to Unionists*; James Kelly, *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish politics in the 1780s* (Cork, 1992); Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael* (Cork, 1996, 2nd ed.). See also. David Hayton, 'Anglo-Irish attitudes: changing perceptions of national identity among the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, ca. 1690-1750', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 17 (1987), 145-57.

[46] These discontinuities (and others) have been highlighted by George Boyce in his *Nationalism in Ireland* (London, 1982); Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination* (Cork, 1996), 8-32 and his 'Anglo-Irish Patriotism and its European context: notes towards a reassessment', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988), 7-24; S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), 120-3.

1801 does not indicate that the elite replaced any sense of Irishness with Britishness wholly, or for merely pragmatic reasons. Instead, the circumstances of the Union made the elite re-shape their view of the relationship between their attachment to Ireland and their attachment to the British State.

After the Union, most members of the elite were unwilling to accept a notion of the Irish nation which involved an aspiration toward independent Statehood because this was incompatible with their membership of a British nation-State. However, they argued, membership of the British nation allowed, and could even protect, the claims of the constituent nations to cultural distinctiveness. As Emerson Tenant argued,

> It is not the mere distinctness of a people that constitutes independence, for in this respect the Esquimaux, or the New Zealanders, are more a separate people than the Irish; but it is the power to maintain that distinctness without the dread of external assault, or the failure of internal resources, free from control and assistance of any other country.

Before the Union, Ireland had been relatively weak, and therefore its political independence and cultural distinctiveness had not given it true national independence. Instead, Grattan's Parliament Ireland had,

> on every occasion, the mere honour to hunt with the lion, but England in all instances had the lion's portion of the spoil. ... In a word, without enjoying the dignity of being a separate State, she suffered all the inconvenience of being a separate people.[47]

By protecting Ireland from foreign incursion, the Union was actually protecting the Irish nation, and allowing her to maintain her cultural distinctiveness and territorial coherence. Thus in effect, Emerson Tenant claimed Irish ethnicity and cultural nationhood, but membership of the British political nation.

This claim to Irish national identity within the Union was, in the first instance, based on a sense of place, which the elite shared with all the other inhabitants of Ireland. Irish Liberal gentry families were resident and were committed to Ireland as a territorially defined entity. They had also lived in Ireland for many generations, some for up to eight hundred years. During this long tenure in Ireland they had developed a sense of difference from the English

---

[47] Emerson Tenant's speech in the House of Commons debate on the Repeal of the Union, *Hansard 3*, xxii (24 April 1834), 1296-7. He went on to explain that the Union was the best way of protecting the Irish sense of being a 'separate people'. See below.

(which was reinforced by the English habit of seeing the Irish elite as both different and inferior), and it also meant that they were able to claim specialist knowledge of Ireland, Irish society and customs.

Furthermore, Irish Liberals deliberately sought to undermine binary divisions, and instead claimed that Protestants and Catholics, elite and populace, were all part of one Irish nation. Thus in 1825 the Liberal Protestant newspaper the *Dublin Evening Post* called upon Orangemen of Ireland to recognise that emancipation was inevitable, and that they should unite with their 'fellow Irishmen':

> However divided we may be in sentiments, in politics, in religion, let us never forget that we are *one nation* ... We shall all celebrate on Thursday next, the anniversary of our national saint [St Patrick].[48]

In the Liberal view, the Irish were different from the English in ethnic and cultural terms, whether they were members of the elite or were peasants. At one level this unity was a fiction, since most members of the elite were descendants from English colonists. However, it is important to recognise that ethnicity relies on a *belief* in shared origins, whether or not this was accurate in a factual sense. Thus ethnicity could be invented or re-invented to suit changing circumstances, it could be expressed through myths, cultural traditions and practices, shared language or religion, or racial characteristics, and most importantly, it could be contested.[49] In Ireland, the origins of some members of the elite were mixed. This was particularly true among members of the Liberal gentry in Limerick, most of whom were descended from the Anglo-Normans or 'Old English' who were Catholic, and some, like William Smith O'Brien, could even claim descent from Brian Boru (see Chapter 1). Thus they found it easier to claim Irish ethnicity through Gaelic or Catholic heritage than more recent immigrants.

They also claimed membership of a particular form of Gaelic culture which reinforced their commitment to their status and role as a legitimate elite within Irish society. Most

---

[48] *DEP*, 15 Mar. 1825. See also Jacqueline Hill's discussion of the 'patrician tradition' of Irish identity among the elite. Jacqueline Hill, 'National festivals, the state and "Protestant Ascendancy" in Ireland, 1790-1829', *IHS* 24:93 (May 1984), 30-51.

[49] Anthony D. Smith, 'Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals', *European Journal of Sociology* 25 (1984), 283-305; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Frederick Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Bergen, 1969); Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

members of the elite found it necessary to differentiate clearly between 'high' and 'low' culture in order to maintain social distance and cultural superiority within the Irish social hierarchy.[50] This laid them open to the charge that, at best, the elite were 'Irish, but not what you'd call Irish'.[51] Thus most Nationalists saw Gaelic culture as popular and not elite, and therefore they usually rejected the elite's claim to membership of that community. Furthermore, most Irish Nationalists linked Irish identity and Gaelic culture with political aspirations.

Irish Liberals attempted to address this problem in three ways. First, they developed an interest in the intellectual recovery of a Gaelic past (archaeology, language, literature, music, and art), which they claimed as their own heritage.[52] This was entirely consistent with the elite-led Celtic revival of the 1830s and 40s, in which they participated.[53] For example, Samuel Ferguson (a leading figure in this movement), presented the elite and the Gaelic-speaking peasantry as having equal claims on 'true' Irish identity, because both were immigrants to Ireland. He concluded that Irish identity was based more on territory than on ethnicity, and that elite and popular culture were both truly Irish. This was already a familiar theme among the elite in the 1820s-40s period, which this article developed to its logical extreme.[54]

Second, Liberal members of the Irish elite tried to reclaim the role that the old Gaelic

---

[50] For example, see Carleton's portrayal of popular Irish culture. William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (New York, 1862 [1830-33]) 2 vols.

[51] de Vere White, *Anglo-Irish.*

[52] For example, Ulick J. Bourke (Richard Bourke's grandson), *The Aryan Origin of the Gaelic Race and Language* (London, 1875); Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic revival (1830-1930)* (London, 1980).

[53] It is significant that the pejorative use of the term 'Anglo-Irish' became widespread as a result of the split into popular and elite cultural divisions within the late nineteenth-century Gaelic revival, and was not widely used in this way during the earlier revival of the 1830s and 40s. J.C. Beckett, *The Anglo-Irish Tradition* (London, 1975), 10; G.C. Bolton, 'The Anglo-Irish and the historians, 1830-1980' in Oliver MacDonagh, W.F. Mandle, and Pauric Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950* (New York, 1983), 239-57. See also David Lloyd, 'Ethnic cultures, minority discourse and the State' in Peter Hulme and Francis Barker (eds), *Colonial Discourse/Post-colonial Theory* (Manchester, 1993). Lloyd argues that the achievement of territorial nationhood in Ireland in the twentieth century obscured the fact that Irish nationhood was also defined primarily in cultural terms. See also his 'Adulteration and the Nation' in his *Anomalous States: Irish writing and the post-colonial moment* (Dublin, 1993), 88-124 and his *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley, 1987).

[54] [Samuel Ferguson], 'The Celto-Scythic progresses', *Dublin University Magazine* 39 (1852), 271-91, cited and assessed in Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 185-6. See also Clare O'Halloran, 'Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: antiquarian debate on the Celtic past in Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth century' (PhD, Cambridge, 1991).

elite had as patrons of popular Irish cultural pursuits, provided those activities did not descend into public disorder as did faction fights.[55] Bourke made it clear that he ascribed differences in culture in Ireland more to the difference between elite and popular culture, than between Protestant and Catholic; English and Irish; Gael and Gall:

> Then, with respect to the situation of the lower ranks; as contrasted with our own. Our enjoyments are perhaps too many: theirs certainly too few. I can devote a part of every week-day to amusement. I ought therefore to be more strict, and as it were austere, in my observance of the Sabbath. ... From all musick that was not sacred, - from dancing, cards, and other amusements of the kind, - I would, on Sunday, refrain myself; and expect my visitors, and require my servants, to refrain. But the poor man, after labouring constantly and hardly for the six days, stands, on the seventh, almost as much in need of recreation, as of rest. ... The Roman Catholicks, I believe, consider Sunday rather as a festival, than as a day for austerity and mortification.[56]

It was important to construct these cultural differences in a way that supported the Liberal elite's claim to legitimate leadership of the Irish nation. However, we should not assume that the elite deliberately falsified the nature of Gaelic ethnicity due to economic interest. The notion that popular culture in the nineteenth century was 'true' Gaelic culture that had survived unchanged from the pre-Norman period, was also a cultural construction which served a different set of interests. Popular culture in Ireland had been fundamentally reshaped in the mid-seventeenth century, and by the mid-eighteenth century Irish language was one of the few vestiges of old Gaelic culture that remained intact.[57] Thus the claims made by nineteenth-century writers, that the peasants were the guardians of 'true' Gaelic culture, must be treated as re-imagined and re-constructed identity just as elite views were constructions.[58] Decisions about which was more legitimate in no way replace the need to acknowledge these constructions and to understand what functions they served.

---

[55] See Chapter 2.

[56] Athamik, 60-63. This is not to say that the Irish Liberal perception was necessarily accurate, merely that they used this as a way of arguing that they were culturally Irish despite their exclusion from Irish popular culture.

[57] S.J. Connolly, 'Popular culture: patterns of change and adaptation' in S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995).

[58] See, for example, Carleton, *Traits and Stories*, and later, Daniel Corkery's assessment of the survival of old Gaelic culture in his *Hidden Ireland* (Dublin, 1967 [1924]). *cf.* Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968, 2nd ed.) and Daniel Casey and Robert Rhodes (eds), *Views of the Irish Peasantry 1800-1916* (Hamden, Conn., 1977).

The Liberal elite's view that accepting and protecting popular culture in Ireland was part of their role as a legitimate and wholly Irish elite, was also shown clearly in their approach to disputes over Catholic burials during the 1820s. Catholics were required by law to be buried in official burial grounds, which were within the grounds of Church of Ireland parish churches. This gave Church of Ireland ministers the right to demand that Catholics seek permission for entry into the burial grounds, and they usually only gave permission if Catholics agreed not to engage in the religious-cultural practices which usually accompanied Catholic burials. As a result there were frequent conflicts between Church of Ireland clergy and Catholics, which were widely interpreted as one aspect of the general conflict over Anglicisation and Protestant proselytism. There was a particular case in 1824, involving Limerick's Church of Ireland Cathedral. Richard Bourke wrote a letter to a local newspaper, refuting the 'Orange Party's' interpretation of events, in which they claimed it was necessary to seek military assistance to prevent Catholics doing violence to the Dean. Bourke defended the right of Catholics to undisturbed burials according to their own cultural practices, and reported that the Dean

> had not been interrupted in any way whatever in the celebration of the Ceremony on that day[, and that] ... he gave no orders for bringing any military force to keep the people from entering the Church.[59]

Thomas Spring Rice also wrote to Dr Murray (Catholic Archbishop of Dublin), in 1828, acknowledging the legitimacy of Catholic and Gaelic popular culture in the issue of burials. He wrote that,

> It surely is most important to prevent the erection of monuments to the folly and prejudices of the present times which will suggest that we fellow Christians cannot bear even in death to be united. Knowing also as I do the natural and very deep importance which our country men attach to a burial in the tombs of their fathers and among their kindred I am persuaded that no new places of sepultuta will be regarded by them in any other light than as an evil ...[60]

As a result, he proposed a practical solution which involved revoking the need to seek permission from Church of Ireland ministers for Catholic burials, and (somewhat lamely) that Catholics should have the right to use existing burial grounds in the mornings, and Protestants in the evenings. In this letter Spring Rice confirmed that he saw religious pluralism and support

---

[59] Bourke, 'Refutation of one of the many falsehoods of the Orange Party', draft, n.d. [c.1824], Bourke papers, NLI ms 8476(7). This was probably published in the *Limerick Evening Post*, however the relevant issue no longer survives.

[60] Spring Rice to Dr. Murray, 6 Feb. 1828, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 552.

of Catholic Emancipation, as a necessary affirmation of his Irish identity. As an Irish MP,

> whether in or out of office[,] with reference to the Catholic question, and all that bears upon it[,] my conduct shall be uniform and consistent[,] conscious of the interests of my country and my countrymen both Catholic and Protestant.[61]

One of the most important features of Liberal elite versions of Irish identity was that their Irishness rested in part on their willingness to accept their moral responsibility toward the Irish people. So, for example, they were supportive as a group when the younger family members including William Smith O'Brien, forsook their degrees at Cambridge in 1822 in order to raise funds in London for Irish famine relief.[62] This view of Irish responsibility was compatible with their British identity, because Irish Liberals sought greater influence for this Irish elite in the government of Ireland through the British Parliament. They saw this as a way of ensuring that British rule satisfied the Irish needs. By proving that the Irish elite could act as a responsible elite that was conscious of its duty to the Irish people and responsive to their demands, Irish Liberals thought they could achieve acceptance of their claims to Irish identity.

The third way in which the Liberal elite tried to address the problem of popular challenges to their Irish identity was to change the way they used the idea of race in the Irish context. In contrast to the way racial language was used to describe the Irish in England, Irish Liberals (and some English Liberals as well), relied on Enlightenment notions of common humanity when considering Ireland. These had very different implications from the 'scientific racism' of the later nineteenth century, because differences in 'race' or 'national character' were attributed to different historical circumstances and not to differences in origin and physical characteristics. As a result, these characteristics were susceptible to cultural change, in exactly the same way as we now understand ethnicity. For Enlightenment thinkers and many early nineteenth-century Liberals, different physical characteristics were noted throughout the world, but were considered much less significant than 'character' and moral capacity.[63] It is true that Liberals increasingly saw the Empire in racist terms as the nineteenth century progressed, but

---

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Ennis Chronicle*, 19 May 1822. Spring Rice was a founding member of the London Tavern Committee, and Bourke was Chairman of the Limerick Famine Relief Committee.

[63] Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: race, history and culture in Western society* (London, 1996), 43-55.

this belonged to a much later period, and many Liberals continued to exempt Ireland. Thus in 1829 the English Liberal churchman Thomas Arnold argued that

> ... they who believe in the common origin of all mankind, must conclude that all moral differences, between one race and another, may be gradually removed as they have been created; and that as unfavourable circumstances made them differ, so a happier system and better institutions may in time restore their original equality.[64]

Similarly, Spring Rice argued in 1822 that the means used to carry the Act of Union in Ireland had resulted in the complete

> demoralization of the ordinary 'race' of Irish politicians, and destroyed what little remained of confidence in public men. Thus was the independence of Ireland surrendered; thus terminated her separate political existence; thus were abandoned those trophies which Grattan had nobly won.[65]

This view contrasted dramatically with the notions of 'scientific racism' that were developing in the late 1840s and 50s in England by people such as Robert Knox, and that were increasingly being applied to Ireland. For the latter, racial language was allied with the view that the Irish were constrained by their physical and genetic heritage, which was closely linked with inborn cultural and personality defects which were immutable.[66]

This has bearing on the problem of how historians should interpret race, culture, and ethnicity in historical contexts, and whether race is a useful analytical concept in explaining Irish History. North American scholars have re-thought the idea of 'race' over the last few decades, and they increasingly emphasise the cultural implications and representation of race rather than the physical aspects. A side-effect is that they frequently use 'race' and 'ethnicity' as if they were synonymous, on the basis that both are culturally constructed and therefore conceptually indistinguishable; some British historians and social scientists go so far as to use

---

[64] Thomas Arnold, 'The Christian duty of conceding the claims of the Roman Catholics' (1829) in Thomas Arnold, *Miscellaneous works* (London, 1845), 1-78, esp. 34.

[65] [Thomas Spring Rice], *Considerations on the Present State of Ireland, and on the best means of improving the condition of its inhabitants. by an Irishman* (London, 1822), 13. (quotation marks are mine, to draw attention to the fact that he did not use the word race to indicate immutable characteristics.) In all of the Irish Liberals writings about Ireland that I have examined, I have found a couple of instances in which the Irish were referred to as a 'race', and it is clear that the word is used to refer to a 'group' only (as in this quote).

[66] Robert Knox, *The Races of Men. a philosophical inquiry into the influence of race over the destinies of nations* (London, 1862, 2nd ed.). See also Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: explorations in feminism and history* (Cambridge, 1992); L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian caricature* (Washington and London, 1971); R.N. Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland; the influence of stereotypes on colonial policy* (Philadelphia, 1976).

ethnicity as a euphemism for race.[67] This conceptual debate has important implications for the study of Nationalism in colonial contexts. Colonial settings make it crucial to distinguish between race and ethnicity, where the nineteenth-century version of race emphasised physical characteristics.[68] These physical characteristics became ways of permanently identifying and barring indigenous elites from European identity, regardless of any cultural or socio-economic change. Nevertheless, while indigenous elites in colonial societies were unable to merge with colonising elites, they were still capable of deciding whether or not to co-operate with imperial rule. Race operated in ways that were much more stable over time and between colonies, because membership of a 'coloured group' was based on physical characteristics, especially skin colour. Historians are entirely correct to explain the cultural implications of race, and to conclude that the ideas of culture, national character and race developed in interaction with each other in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[69] The cultural implications of these physical characteristics were certainly susceptible to change. However, both the actual membership of a 'coloured' group and the consequences of skin colour for the way groups were demarcated was less susceptible to change over time than were cultural demarcations. So, while the 'colour line' was the most prominent way of understanding and dividing the 'imperial world' in the half century following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*,[70] the way this related to the first half of the nineteenth century, and to Ireland in particular, is much less clear.

Explicit uses of racial stereotyping in Ireland in the nineteenth century, such as O'Connell's *Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon*, were presented for polemic purposes, and do not necessarily represent accurate portrayals of how the Irish saw divisions between the

---

[67] This trend is also followed by Kwame Anthony Appiah, who is an African scholar working in the United States. See his 'Race' in F. Lentricchia and T. McLaughlin (eds), *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago, 1995, 2nd ed.), 274-87. For similar treatments of Irish history, see, Curtis, *Apes and Angels* and Luke Gibbons, 'Race against Time: racial discourse and Irish History', *The Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1981). For contrasting views, see Sheridan Gilley's Chapter in Roger Swift (ed.), *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914*, (London, 1990) and his 'English attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900' in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, 1978), 81-110.

[68] Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester, 1994).

[69] Malik, *Meaning of Race*, 128-29.

[70] Malik, *Meaning of Race*, 118.

English or British and the Irish.[71] Even more important, the use of 'race' to describe Irish ethnicity in the nineteenth century remains problematic for historians, since physical attributes have never formed primary markers between groups in Ireland, despite the existence of cultural stereotypes.[72] Perhaps the most important characteristic of ethnicity in Ireland is that ethnic groups were defined and marked in cultural ways. This means that ethnic identity was susceptible to cultural change over time. Even the membership of each group could change, and the memory of these changes could disappear over time. As a result, these demarcations could be deliberately blurred or re-invented, even though the appearance of stability might be retained. Therefore, we must conclude that the application of racial language to Ireland in the first half of the century was contested.

This Liberal version of Irish identity was not the only one among the elite. Another approach, taken by some Protestants, was to deny a separate Irish identity altogether, and to try to assimilate Irish society and culture to an English model. This worldview has received substantial historical attention because of the explosive conflicts that it created, through the mass conversion attempts of the 1820s Protestant Crusade, repressive attempts to deal with agrarian violence by trying to smash it with English law, attempts to assimilate the Irish system of land tenure to English legal practice, and the extensive use of racial stereotyping. In addition, it was this worldview that the Irish-Ireland movement opposed so strenuously at the end of the century.

The elite attachment to Irish identity in the first half of the nineteenth century was not an exclusive one based on a rigid view of ethnicity, and it did not preclude British identity. However, the eighteenth-century notion of patriotism to describe this attachment does not work well in the nineteenth-century context either. The Irish Liberal attachment to Ireland was more than a sense of place, and was forced to move beyond the bounds of eighteenth-century patriotism because of the 1798 Rebellion, and because they had to adapt the concept to the circumstances of Ireland under the Union. In the nineteenth-century context it is appropriate to

---

[71] Daniel O'Connell, *Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon* (Dublin, 1843).

[72] Michael A. Poole, 'In Search of Ethnicity in Ireland' in Brian Graham (ed.), *In Search of Ireland: a cultural geography* (London, 1997), 128-9 *cf.* Curtis, *Apes and Angels* and Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland.*

use the term 'national identity' instead of 'patriotism' for this attachment, because the nineteenth-century language of 'nation' had a different significance from the eighteenth-century 'patriot' language.[73] In addition, the Liberal elite were deliberately trying to re-define the 'Irish nation' against the model of political Nationalism being promoted by O'Connell. For most members of the elite, national identity did not imply the development of Nationalist aspirations. Instead, British and Irish national identities were given different and complementary parameters, and the elite were not immediately forced to make a choice of primary national identity.

Irish elite perceptions in the early nineteenth century are important for three reasons. First, they demonstrate that the Irish elite did not always act as an extension of England, merely as colonisers, but that they were using British tools to rule in their own interests. This continued during the nineteenth century, despite the obvious fact that the Irish elite were becoming more dependent on British power as internal opposition to them and to the British State escalated. Second, these perceptions are crucial to understanding the process of developing a transportable British identity, that was not confined to Englishness and that was fundamental to nineteenth-century notions of Empire and Union. The Irish elite's capacity to exert an extraordinary influence in Britain and in the Empire was partly due to their ability to assert a non-English version of Britishness (see Chapter 7). Third, the attempt to claim Irishness within a British framework, and the close links between their claims to identity and their perceived capacity to lead, continued to shape the debates about identity throughout the nineteenth century. The elite were much more inclined to reject versions of Irish national identity that involved political aspirations and radicalism, than they were to reject those that had a cultural basis which could be stretched to include them.

---

[73] See Hutchinson, *Cultural Nationalism*; Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 404-7; See also Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 24-5.

V. The Failure of the Irish Liberal Construction of Nationhood

The process by which the Nationalist, anti-elite, anti-Protestant, and anti-English version of Irish national identity surfaced and became widely accepted is crucial to the way historians understand the period between the Rebellion and the Famine. Even so, with a few important exceptions, this period has not been well served by historical writing, for a number of fairly obvious reasons. Studies of O'Connell and of the Famine have understandably overshadowed everything; the growth of pre-Famine social history is retarded by patchy sources, which has until recently reinforced the tendency to focus on political history and the Catholic question. This was a transitional period in economic and social terms and it may well not be possible to identify a consistent and uniform story. Finally, the diversity in constructions of national identity in this period does not fit well with a view of Irish history that traces a steady escalation in Nationalism from the Rebellion onward. Bartlett's analysis of the Catholic Question in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century politics adds weight to the widely accepted view that Irish Nationalism was both Catholic and opposed to British Protestant identity by 1829.[74] His work is also supported by that of Tom Garvin, on the development of Nationalist politics in nineteenth-century rural Ireland (although whether rural secret societies were Nationalist movements or local economic protest movements is still under discussion).[75] However, the period in which Irish Catholic Nationalism became hegemonic as both exclusively Catholic and anti-English has an important bearing on the role of the Irish elite in both Ireland and England. In the end, it was the dominance of this kind of Irish Nationalism which prevented Protestant Unionists like Spring Rice from convincingly portraying themselves as the legitimate protectors of Irish interests.

The nature of agrarian unrest and its status as a well-developed Nationalist political movement, is still under discussion. It is by no means clear that there was a generalised notion of national identity that suffused all agrarian protest movements, and the whole of the Irish poor. Nor is it clear that agrarian violence represented a coherent attempt to gain Irish

---

[74] Bartlett, *Rise and Fall*, 347.

[75] T. Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981) *cf.* M.R. Beames, *Peasants and Power: the Whiteboy movements and their control in pre-Famine Ireland* (Brighton, 1983).

independence. Even those that demanded Irish independence did not always match this with an intention to eradicate the elite. That there was a link between Catholicism and Irish identity in agrarian protest movements was recognised at the time. Thus Thomas Moore's pamphlet *Memoirs of Captain Rock* presented the view that the aim of these agrarian groups was to make Ireland a Catholic nation, just as Britain was a Protestant nation, because it was right that the State should reflect the creed of the majority of the people. He outlined the view that the Ascendancy were not truly Irish because they were Protestant and because they acted as tyrants by systematically excluding Catholics from power.[76] However, we cannot necessarily conclude that Irish identity was entirely exclusive to Catholics by the 1820s, or that this particular version of Irish Catholic national identity was shared by all Catholics.[77] Similarly, if it is true that much of the violence was aimed at middle-men and at 'modernisers', then we need to question its status as a demonstration of a well-developed and universally shared construction of national identity among the Irish poor, urban as well as rural.[78]

Tom Garvin probably draws the right conclusions about Ribbonmen specifically. However, the difficulty lies in how far we can extrapolate his conclusions to other agrarian movements, and to popular notions of national identity in general. While we can identify a version of Irish identity which had important Catholic, populist, and anti-English elements, this was probably only one construction among many. Other versions of national identity in this period did not necessarily combine anti-English, anti-elite, and anti-Protestant elements in the same way. Furthermore, though Ribbonism did represent the development of an organisational structure that later Nationalist movements used as a model, agrarian movements as a whole in the 1820s did not represent fully-fledged Nationalism.[79]

---

[76] [Thomas Moore], *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the celebrated Irish chieftain. with some account of his ancestors. written by himself* (Paris, 1824), 210. See also Graham O'Neill, 'A Look at Captain Rock: agrarian rebellion in Ireland 1815-1845', *Eire-Ireland* 17:3 (1982), 17-34.

[77] This discussion of the relationship between agrarian violence and Irish national identity pulls together the various elements on religion, modernisation, and popular protest which have been examined in Chapters 2 to 4.

[78] Garvin, *Evolution*. This work is related to work on insurrectionary movements among colonial peasants. See, for example, Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies: writings on South Asian history and society* 1 (Delhi, 1982) and James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance* (New Haven, 1985); *cf.* A.C. Murray, 'Agrarian violence and Nationalism in nineteenth-century Ireland: the myth of Ribbonism', *IESH* 13 (1986), 56-73.

[79] Tom Garvin, 'Defenders, Ribbonmen and others: underground political networks in pre-

Similar objections can be levelled at those historians who represent O'Connell's campaign for Catholic Emancipation as the decisive point in the development of Irish Catholic Nationalism. The mass mobilisation that he achieved did indicate that some groups were beginning to recognise that they shared common problems with other Catholics, however we cannot assume that this construction of Irish national identity successfully excluded all other versions of Irish identity from the field by 1829. Instead, there were a number of competing constructions, within both Irish and British identities, and there were a number of interpretations of the relationship between these identities. The result of this contest was not inevitable, but was rooted in specific historical circumstances. 'True' Irish ethnicity cannot be a sufficient explanation, because it was susceptible to cultural change and was constructed; nor was the immutability of religious division a sufficient explanation, because Protestants played a major role in the next incarnation of Irish Nationalism; nor was class conflict, because we would still need to explain why it was a Nationalist division and not a class war that developed. So, why did the Irish Liberal elite fail to convince others that their vision was legitimate? This Liberal elite eventually lost the argument to lead, or even be included in the Irish nation, because their claims to legitimate membership were undermined by their alignment with the British State which they failed to influence (despite a Liberal-Whig government), and because of their failure to save Ireland from the effects of the Famine. The growing importance of religion as an ethnic marker (which worked against their inter-denominational vision) were also important, however it is not clear precisely the degree of importance that should be attributed to this until the end of the nineteenth century. The result was that Liberals fell between stools, and were neither wholly Irish or British. Thus Lalor Sheil accused Spring Rice of changing his spots according to the context, of being Irish when in London and British when in Limerick, and therefore of being unreliable:

> He sees the poor laws from the Shannon as he sees the Repeal from the Thames. He takes a Treasury view of the one, and a Mount Trenchard view of the other.[80]

Famine Ireland' in C.H.E. Philpin (ed.), *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1987), 220-1 (first published in *Past and Present* 96).

[80] Quoted in Sean Spellissy and John O'Brien, *Limerick: the rich land* (Ennis, Co. Clare, 1989), 59. Mount Trenchard was Spring Rice's County Limerick estate. This comment refers to Spring Rice's opposition to the introduction of the New Poor Law in Ireland, despite his strong support of classical political economy. See Chapter 4.

The Famine played a crucial role in the development of a more hegemonic Irish identity which was necessarily both anti-English and anti-elite, and in undermining the Liberal vision of an Irish cultural nation (which they claimed to lead) within the an over-arching British nation-state. Whether the Irish elite were unable or unwilling to effectively influence the Irish policy of the British State provides much ground for historical debate in this period. What is not open to question is that the perception that the elite and the British State were jointly culpable was a crucial factor in the development of nineteenth century versions of exclusive Irish national identity. The Famine provided ammunition for Nationalists because it showed more clearly than any other event during the nineteenth century the inadequacies of the Union, the British State, and the Irish elite, in satisfying the needs of the Irish poor. It is also clear that Irish society and the Ascendancy themselves were riven by social, cultural, economic, religious and political divisions that exacerbated the effects of the Famine. In these circumstances, and because the Irish gentry had a particular set of interests, it was difficult for them to perform the mediating role between the British State and the Irish people that had been envisaged by Irish Liberals. Even those that successfully developed the idea of a middle ground found it difficult to manipulate it for their own ends. It also became painfully clear that their own elite and Irish status could not survive without the existence of a middle ground between the British State and Irish radicals, particularly after Young Ireland began to publish Nationalist polemic in the *Nation* and in historical and political works.[81] Indeed, it is arguable that, had Ireland been either a totally integrated part of Britain or a more wholly dependent colony close to English shores, then the British State would have had to deal much more effectively with the effects of the Famine. As it was, the failure of the British State adequately to deal with the Famine, and the Irish elite's failure to exert sufficient influence on British policy to achieve this aim, undermined the elite's capacity to claim Irish identity within a broadly British framework. The Irish elite's support of the Union in general, and the close identification of Irish Liberals with the Liberal-Whig governments of the period in particular, was now a liability from which they could not escape.[82] John Mitchell made this clear in 1873, when his *The Last Conquest of Ireland*

---

[81] Robert Mahony, 'Historicising the Famine: John Mitchel and the prophetic voice of Swift', in Chris Morash and Richard Hayes (eds), *Fearful Realities: new perspectives on the Famine* (Dublin, 1996), 131-7.

[82] Irish Liberals got little sympathy from English Liberals either, who accused Irish landlords of

(Perhaps) recounted the memorable vision of six ships heavily laden with grain leaving Ireland at the height of the Famine, while a solitary relief ship arrived with food. This 'spectacle of millions starving in an Ireland full of plentiful crops' became one of the most abiding images of the combined culpability of the British State and the elite in the Famine.[83]

There has been historical emphasis on the development of Nationalism as a response to Anglicisation, and especially to the transmission of British Liberal values to Ireland. This has been used as a particular explanation for the form of Nationalism that Young Ireland promoted through the *Nation* and the *United Irishman*, and through the debates about political economy.[84] However, my research on Liberalism in Ireland suggests that the relationship between Liberalism and Nationalism in Ireland was more complex than this. The Irish Cultural Nationalism initiated by the Young Ireland movement, and which then developed into the late nineteenth-century Gaelic revival, cannot be explained entirely as a reaction against the attempted imposition of English Liberal values and English political economy in Ireland. The argument that Liberal values in Ireland were an English import and thus represented cultural imperialism in which the elite willingly collaborated, cannot be sustained. The previous chapters have shown that while there was a degree of ideological borrowing from a number of sources including English ones, the most important factors in shaping Liberal ideology in Ireland were Irish ones: Irish perceptions and circumstances, and Irish Liberal Protestant theology. Thus the process of cultural transmission was far more complex than historians have recognised. English ideas were impeded, subverted, or aided by Irish Liberal members of the elite for their

---

'flagrant neglect of duty' in not providing sufficient work for the starving peasants. George L. Bernstein, 'Liberals, the Irish Famine and the role of the state', *IHS* 29:116 (Nov. 1995), 523-4.

[83] John Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Dublin, 1873 [1859]), 208. cf. P.M. Bourke, 'The Irish Grain Trade, 1835-48', *IHS* 20 (1976), 156-69, which demonstrates that grain imports exceeded exports for the whole of the Famine period, with the exception of Autumn 1846.

[84] Hutchinson, *Cultural Nationalism*, chs 2 and 8, and his 'Irish Nationalism' in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *The Making of Modern Irish History: revisionism and the revisionist controversy* (London, 1996), 111; Thomas A. Boylan and Timothy P. Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland: the propagation and ideological function of economic discourse in the nineteenth century* (London, 1992). See also Mary Daly, who argues that from the late nineteenth century, Irish Nationalists saw capitalism as both English and Protestant, and therefore that the independent Irish State later experienced a conflict between the ideals of economic Liberalism and a more ethically determined economic strategy which involved government intervention. Mary Daly, 'The economic ideas of Irish Nationalism: frugal comfort or lavish diversity?' *Eire-Ireland* 29:4 (1994), 85-6, 91.

own reasons, and not because of they were an English colonial elite. It is true that the more radical wing of Young Ireland succeeded in representing Liberal Political Economy as an attempt at English imperial domination and cultural Anglicisation, and that they sought to restructure Irish social, economic and political institutions around what they characterised as 'indigenous values'. However, these 'indigenous values' were a cultural construction in the particular historical circumstances of the period, and were not an undisputed ethnic and cultural Gaelic inheritance. Moreover, many of the Young Ireland leaders who presented the former view were Irish Protestants themselves, some even converts from Irish Liberalism.

The successful representation of Liberalism as an English import had much more to do with the overall failure of Irish Liberals to influence British Liberal-Whig governments than with a successful programme of Anglicisation that was actively encouraged by 'English establishment and their intellectual garrison in Ireland' (the Ascendancy).[85] In fact, the Young Ireland criticism of English political economy during the Famine which Boylan and Foley and Mahoney agree was a Nationalist response to the imposition of English Liberal values on Ireland, was very reminiscent of the critiques made by Irish Liberals in the 1820s (see Chapter 4).[86] This was not a straight-forward and uncomplicated case of Cultural Nationalist opposition to imperial cultural domination, based on clear-cut ethnic difference. Instead, it was a battle for the right to shape Irish national identity and, ultimately, for leadership of that nation. Furthermore, the way Young Ireland constructed Irish identity did not necessarily exclude the elite. What they did, instead, was set up criteria by which the elite's membership of the nation should be judged.

In the very first issue of Young Ireland's newspaper in 1842, Charles Gavan Duffy argued that the *Nation*'s first duty was to teach 'Nationality', which was to be an inclusive identity in which sect, party and class differences would combine for great and permanent change. However, he also argued that there was one distinction that mattered above all others: the true Irishmen were those 'who suffer from her National degradation', whereas those who profited

---

[85] Boylan and Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland*, 118-9.

[86] Robert Mahony, 'Historicising the Famine'; Boylan and Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland*, esp. 1-16; *cf.* R.D. Collison Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question 1817-1870* (Cambridge, 1960).

from the British connection were not 'true Irishmen.' In pronouncing this binary division, Duffy argued that the plethora of political groupings and stances, including 'Orangemen and Ribbonmen, Torymen and Whigmen, Ultras and Moderados, and Heaven knows what rubbish besides' distracted from this more important way of defining competing groups.[87] Furthermore, in the late 1840s the *Nation* set out to prove that the Famine was the direct result of interference in Ireland by the British State, and that the Famine therefore proved the efficacy of Repeal.[88] At the end of the twentieth century, we assume that those who 'suffered' were the poor, and that those who profited from the Union were the Protestant elite. During and after the Famine, Young Ireland and the Irish Republican Brotherhood certainly publicised this view. However, it is too easy to assume that Young Ireland was both anti-English and anti-elite from as early as 1842.

The movement's leaders were conscious of the need to leave the door open for those members of the elite who supported Repeal, whatever their economic interests. Young Ireland's leadership was drawn from these ranks in the main, and the high price of the *Nation* meant that this group were also the main buyers of the newspaper.[89] From the beginning of the Famine the *Nation* publicised the view that the it was a direct result of the English domination of Ireland. It also publicised and condemned particular landlord actions, especially evictions, but it was not opposed to the landlords in principle. Instead, Young Ireland initially responded to the Famine by calling for patriotic and unified action from all classes. Thus the movement only gradually and reluctantly came to support a popular uprising, and this was as much a response to the European 1848 revolutions as to Irish Famine.

In contrast with the main Young Ireland leadership, James Fintan Lalor began to outline more radical principles in 1847, in which the rights of landlords must be subordinated to those of the poor, and in which absolute ownership of land was vested in the people of Ireland. He

---

[87] *The Nation*, 15 Oct. 1842.

[88] Robert Mahony, 'Historicising the Famine'; Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin, 1987), chs 3-5.

[89] However, its readership was probably much greater than the number of papers sold. Until the split between Young Ireland and the Repeal movement, the Nation was available in every Repeal reading room and seems to have been read aloud to illiterate audiences throughout Ireland. Sean Ryder, 'Reading lessons: Famine and the *Nation*, 1845-1849' in Morash and Hayes, *Fearful Realities*, 154.

and John Mitchel seceded in 1848 from the more Liberal members like William Smith O'Brien, and together they created the Irish Confederation. They also set up their own newspaper, the *United Irishman*, where they published a much more clear-cut anti-English and anti-elite version of Irish national identity.

Thus the tendency to exclude the elite from 'true' Irishness developed during and after the Famine, but this process was uneven. When the 'inhabitants' and Catholic clergy of the barony of Upper Connello in Co. Limerick, led by Archdeacon Fitzgerald (parish priest of Ballingarry) presented a scathing address to Queen Victoria on her visit to Ireland in 1849, they warned her that although she was not personally to blame for the clearances in the Kilrush Union of Clare, 'thy royal name must be connected in future history with the astounding record of the extermination of our unhappy race'. Significantly, they placed the majority of the blame on the 'evil oligarchy' of Ministers who

> hath snatched thy sceptre from thy grasp and converted it into a rod of Iron and a whip of scorpions to torture, to crush, and to slay thy faithful people in Ireland.[90]

Nevertheless, landlords' actions during the Famine, and their failure to influence British government, provided a body of evidence that continued to be available for use and re-interpretation for the remainder of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In particular, John Mitchel and other radicals continued to publish polemic over the next thirty years, which used this evidence to continue the process of re-interpreting and re-shaping the memory of the Famine, and this also formed the basis of many later historical treatments of the period. As a result, it has now become difficult to distinguish between contemporary understandings and later memory, and to draw conclusions about how widely accepted was the combination of Irish identity as both anti-elite and anti-English in the period of the Famine itself.[91]

---

[90] *Nation*, 1 Sept. 1849. The notion of illegitimate oligarchy, which was used in the Liberal campaign against the Limerick Corporation in the 1820s and 30s, was still relevant at the end of the 1840s. In addition, this address had a strong element of opposition to evangelicalism, which was widely recognised as one of the elements in Whig Irish policy and English popular opinion, and which re-emerged in this period in Ireland itself. Desmond Bowen, *Souperism: myth or reality?* (Cork, 1970); Irene Whelan, 'The stigma of souperism' in Póirtéir, *Great Irish Famine*, 135-154; Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence: British government's responses to the Great Famine', *Bullan: an Irish Studies Journal* 1:1 (Spring 1994), 75-90; Archdeacon Fitzgerald was the same priest whose virulent opposition to the Evangelical minister Rev. Murray in Askeaton, Co. Limerick, 1822 was discussed in Chapter 2.

[91] See, for example, John Mitchel, *The History of Ireland from the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time* (Dublin, 1869) 2 vols and his *Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)*. 'Memory' is

The development of the perception that the Famine proved the Ascendancy's failure as leaders of the Irish nation was far more important in explaining the Irish elite's subsequent behaviour than any rigorous assessment by modern historians on the question of whether the elite could have done more than they did.[92] At the beginning of the Famine there were many discordant voices from within Ireland about why the Famine had occurred, how it should be dealt with, and what consequences it had for defining Irish national identity.[93] The extent to which this variety of perceptions continued into the 1850s is unclear because of the difficulties of interpreting folk memory and oral history, and because research on Gaelic sources is only now beginning to emerge.[94] It is already clear that Young Ireland movement played a crucial role in interpreting the Famine and in re-shaping the way Irish national identity was constructed thereafter.

Even more important than Young Ireland's representation of the elite's role in the Famine, is the issue of the degree to which their construction was accepted and why, and why the vision of Irish identity that had been constructed by Irish Liberals was rejected. The answer is, simply, that the Irish Liberal performance during the Famine provided evidence which Young Ireland could use to support their case in the next three decades. This showed that Irish Liberals failed to substantiate their claim to be able to protect the Irish people, and they also failed to substantiate their claim that they could influence the British State (even with a Liberal-Whig government in power).

There were three main reasons that the Ascendancy eventually lost the battle for recognition as a legitimate Irish elite. First, there were major long-term disadvantages for the elite in continuing to construct Irish and British identities in ways that made them compatible. Their denial of the divisive but powerful ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious definitions of

---

used in the sense of constructed memory, which reinterprets the past in the light of the present.

[92] Until very recently this has been the preoccupation of Famine History and of popular interpretations, which have both been concerned with apportioning blame.

[93] James S. Donnelly jnr, 'Mass eviction and the Great Famine: the clearances revisited' in Cathal Póirtéir, *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 1995), 155-203.

[94] See for example, Carmel Quinlan, '"A punishment from God": the Famine in the Centenary Folklore Questionnaire', *Irish Review* 16 (Autumn/Winter 1994), pp.68-86; Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes* (which mentions Póirtéir's forthcoming work on Irish- and English-language folklore sources in Ireland); Neil Buttimer, 'A stone on the cairn: the Great Famine in later Gaelic manuscripts' in Morash and Hayes, *Fearful Realities*, 93-109.

Irish identity meant that they were vulnerable to being excluded by those who saw Irish identity as Gaelic and Catholic. Second, the Ascendancy could not come to an agreement among themselves on the appropriate course of action and response to challenge, and this contributed to their failure to influence the British State. Third, those who presented Irish and British identity as mutually exclusive and opposed, argued that the elite acceptance of British identity automatically meant that they could not be Irish. The belief that the interests of the Irish people were opposed to those of the British State meant that the elite were open to the accusation of having acted according to the dictates of a foreign State instead of the needs of the Irish people. Their close identification with the British State also became a liability when the British State declined to protect their interests, and this left the elite no refuge from Radical Nationalist criticism in the early twentieth century.

The development of Young Ireland versions of Irish national identity did not eradicate the range of social, political, religious, economic and cultural divisions that were meaningful and important in Ireland; they simply presented the view that Repeal could resolve all of those divisions, and that those who opposed Repeal were illegitimate as Irishmen. It seems clear that 'true' Irishness and membership of the elite were believed to be mutually exclusive by many people living in Ireland at the time of Partition. However, it is not at all clear that this was the case for the whole of the nineteenth century, especially the first half. On the contrary, there were a number of ways of dividing Ireland into contesting groups, as the previous four chapters have shown; each had particular meaning because of the specific historical circumstances in which it emerged, but that meaning was also shaped by the way each group was perceived by others.

The Irish Folklore Commission material, which was collected in the 1930s and 40s, after Irish became a fully independent nation-state, is particularly interesting. Research on this material will allow historians to distinguish more clearly between contemporary perceptions of the Famine, and the way the Famine was remembered by later generations. This makes it possible to see how national identity changed during the century after the Famine, and to relate this to changing historical accounts and to changing historical circumstances. This will have bearing on the way we interpret the debates among historians about the relationship between national identity and the writing of history (see Conclusions).

This examination of national identity among the elite affects the way historians assess many of the issues in nineteenth-century Irish History: it suggests that we need to reconsider the relationships between different groups within Ireland instead of focusing primarily upon Anglo-Irish relations. The failure of the elite was important and explainable, but was not pre-determined. Nor was the development of a more exclusive, Catholic Gaelic version of national identity inevitable. Instead, a number of versions of national identity, both British and Irish, co-existed in Ireland. They were shaped by religious and political ideology, and by specific historical circumstances, and the result of this competition was by no means obvious from the inception of the Union. Moreover, this contest over identity had ramifications beyond Ireland, in metropolitan Britain and in the Empire, because this non-English but British elite took their experience of plural societies and their ideas about how to treat excluded and hostile groups with them when they moved throughout the 'British world' in the first half of the century.

CHAPTER 7

BRITISH LIBERALISM IN THE METROPOLIS AND AT THE MARGINS

The previous chapters have examined the Liberal elite in Ireland, on their own terms, and within their Irish context. The inclusion of Ireland in the British State in the nineteenth century, had a significant impact on this elite, because the change in circumstances forced them to adapt their ideology and identity. However, the role that the Irish elite played in the 'metropolis' was also affected by the Union: the Irish elite became part of a broadly British elite, and played a direct role in the British State. The Union also increased their opportunities in the Empire, both as free settlers and professionals (especially lawyers) and as part of colonial administrative and military structures.[1] This meant that the Irish elite in the nineteenth century affected ideology and historical events well beyond Irish shores. Furthermore, when they left Ireland to go to England or the Empire, they took with them particular political and religious outlooks, sets of experiences, senses of Irish identity, and also forms of British identity. The fact that they saw themselves as British but not English, and as part of an over-arching and powerful British elite and British State, meant that their role in England and in the Empire was likely to be quite different from that of the English elite. However, the Irish elite's role in Britain and the Empire was also different from that of the Scottish elite, because their experiences were different. For this reason, the impact of Union with Ireland, and the impact of the Irish elite specifically, needs to be given a more prominent place in British History in the nineteenth century.

Some historians have taken the view that the variation between different versions of British identity makes the concept meaningless. This is demonstrated, they argue, by the English tendency to use 'English' and 'British' language interchangeably, even in the nineteenth century.[2] Others have taken the view that British identity was simply Englishness 'writ large',

---

[1] The Irish Bar was seriously overcrowded in the 1830s. In 1833 a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* claimed that the Four Courts were crowded with unemployed barristers trained at Trinity College Dublin, and barely one in ten succeeded in making a living. *Dublin University Magazine* 1 (1833), 45-9.

[2] Margot Finn, *After Chartism: class and nation in English radical politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge, 1993); Eric Evans, 'Englishness and Britishness: national identities, c.1790-1870'

and that it involved the extension of a dominant English cultural, political, religious, and economic system beyond English borders.[3] However, the last chapter showed that British identity outside England was not just a manifestation of English imperialism. Instead, British identity existed in various forms in Ireland, which changed according to specific historical circumstances and ideologies.[4] Moreover, the 'metropolis' under the Union became more open to external influence. This chapter shows how one ideology and view of Britishness (that of the Irish Liberal elite) affected the English 'metropolis' and the colonial 'margins' in New South Wales during the 1830s. Thus British identity within the 'British nation' as a whole was neither unified nor cohesive, but the different versions of identity were important in shaping historical events and ideologies.[5]

Contrary to what many English historians have assumed, Irish ideas and attitudes affected Britain, just as English ideas and attitudes affected Ireland. The first section of this chapter looks at the impact of Irish Liberals on the development of British Liberalism, as an example. It shows that the ideas brought to England by Spring Rice, and by Irish Liberals in general, played an important role in the Liberal-Whig reformulation of citizenship through Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, in inter-denominational education, in the re-shaping of the relationship between the Churches of England and Ireland and the British State,

---

in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds), *Uniting the Kingdom? the making of British history* (London and New York, 1995), 223-43; and D. George Boyce, 'The marginal Britons: the Irish' in R. Colls and P. Dodd (eds), *Englishness: politics and culture, 1880-1920* (Beckenham, 1986), 231, 236; B. Crick, 'The English and the British' in B. Crick (ed.), *National Identities: the Constitution of the United Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1991). See also Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: a cultural history 1740-1830* (London, 1987). It is interesting to note that many of Newman's 'English nationalists' were in fact Scottish or Irish. For the early modern period, see Steven Ellis, 'Tudor state formation and the shaping of the British Isles' in Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: fashioning a British State 1485-1725* (London and New York, 1995), 40-63.

[3] See, for example, Bill Schwarz (ed.), *The Expansion of England: race, ethnicity and cultural history* (London and New York, 1996); Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993).

[4] See also Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: the British Isles, 1750-1850* (Manchester, 1997); S.J. Connolly, *Kingdoms United?* (Dublin, forthcoming).

[5] This is acknowledged by Keith Robbins, 'An imperial and multinational polity: the 'scene from the centre', 1832-1922' in Grant and Stringer, *Uniting the Kingdom?*, 246-9, and his 'Images of the foreigner in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain' in Keith Robbins, *History, Religion, and Identity in Modern Britain* (London, 1993). *cf.* Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992) and her 'Britishness and otherness: an argument', *Journal of British Studies* 31:4 (1992), 309-29.

and in municipal reform. In addition, Spring Rice and other Irish Liberals played an important role in the re-thinking of the relationship between the British State and the settlement colonies, which occurred between the 1820s to 1840s. The last section of the chapter looks at the development of a specifically Liberal and British view of imperialism in the early nineteenth century; and it shows how this British Liberalism affected debates on citizenship and identity in the Empire, using Richard Bourke's role in New South Wales as an example.[6] It would take far more than one chapter to make this case conclusively. However, these examples show that this research on the Irish elite made a difference to the history of England, of the Empire, and of an emerging 'British world' in the nineteenth century.

I. Re-thinking the 'Metropolis'

Historians with diverse interests and perspectives agree that the period between the 1780s and the 1830s was crucial in a process by which a narrow, often localised English patriotism, was transformed into a broad and inclusive sense of British identity, that reflected the development of a multi-national state.[7] This British identity also played a growing role in the relationship between the Britain and the colonies. However, many of the existing treatments of British national identity continue to focus exclusively on the relationship between England and Scotland, especially in the eighteenth century, the combined Scottish and English opposition to revolutionary France, and the Scottish participation in imperial commerce.[8] By comparison, the role of the Irish, especially the Irish elite, in the creation and adaptations of British identity in the nineteenth century has been largely overlooked.

Most historians agree that British identity in Scotland (or 'North British' identity, as exemplified by Sir Walter Scott) was a result of the particular circumstances of the Union between England and Scotland, and of the Scottish Enlightenment. Eighteenth-century

---

[6] There are many other potential case studies. Richard Bourke was, for instance, also Lieutenant Governor at the Cape, where another Irishman, Lord Macartney, had been Governor.

[7] Brockliss and Eastwood, *Union of Multiple Identities*, 3. Some historians date the transformation much earlier, for example, John Morrill, 'The fashioning of Britain' in Ellis and Barber, *Conquest and Union*, 8-39; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: politics, culture and imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge, 1995).

[8] See, for example, Colley, *Britons.*

patriotism involved a split between heart and head; the Scottish elite retained an emotional attachment to the ideal and memory of the Scottish nation, but out of self-interest they added British identity, which gave them access to the expanding British State and the cornucopia of imperial and commercial opportunities that went with it.[9] Thus it is generally argued that British identity in Scotland was associated with universalist and Enlightenment ideals and the 'rights of Englishmen', but was not related to ethnicity. The Scottish elite's participation in the British State and in the British elite provided an opportunity for the ideas associated with the Scottish Enlightenment to be transmitted to England, and the Scottish political economists and Common Sense philosophers have been considered particularly influential.[10]

Beyond this general agreement, Colin Kidd has added the argument that North British identity made no sense unless it had English identity at its core, and that the Scottish elite relied on the rhetoric of the 'rights of Englishmen' to substantiate their claim to North Britishness.[11] This reliance on the 'rights of Englishmen' was shared by eighteenth-century Irish and American elites as well. If Kidd is correct, the eighteenth-century Empire and the Union were in a very real sense an expansion of a specifically English state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Britishness was Englishness re-interpreted;[12] The Scottish elite influenced English identity, but they did not produce a transformation from an English to a more broadly conceived British identity prior to the French Revolution.

Like the eighteenth-century Scottish elite, the nineteenth-century Irish elite also differentiated between their emotional attachment to Ireland and their political attachment to the British State. However, as previous chapters have shown, the Irish elite deliberately

---

[9] C. Harvie, *Scotland and nationalism: Scottish society and politics 1707-1977* (London 1977), 16-17; T.C. Smout, 'Problems of nationalism, identity and improvement in eighteenth-century Scotland', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1989); T. Nairn, *The break-up of Britain* (London, 1977).

[10] See, for example, Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983); and John Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire: political thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995);

[11] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms', *HJ* 39:2 (1996), 361-82, esp. 361.

[12] Although Kathleen Wilson argues that British imperial identity developed from the Seven Years War. Wilson, *Sense of the People* and her 'Empire of Virtue: the imperial project and Hanoverian culture c.1720-1785' in *Lawrence Stone (ed.), An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London and New York, 1994), 128-64.

distanced themselves both from English identity narrowly defined, and from natural rights. Furthermore, the notions of citizenship that derived from Britishness among the Irish elite were embedded in slightly different rhetorical traditions from those of the Scottish elite, because of the difference between Irish and Scottish circumstances (especially in religion) and because the Irish elite had to deal with different problems. Foremost among these were the problems of how to maintain themselves as a legitimate elite against concerted challenge, and the 'Catholic Question'. Irish Liberals chose to emphasise a Christian and individual notion of citizenship; Irish Conservatives emphasised defence of an exclusively Protestant elite and Protestant state. However, both saw British identity as a flexible basis for negotiation between Ireland and the British State, while English identity increasingly became a liability. For this reason, British and English identities drew apart in the nineteenth century, to a much greater extent than was the case under the eighteenth-century Union with Scotland.

The transformation from a narrowly conceived but expansionist English state and identity, to a more broadly conceived British State and identity, was produced by three major sets of historical events: the American War of Independence, the war against Revolutionary France, and Union with Ireland. Of these, Linda Colley has emphasised the war against France, which she says forced the Scottish and English elites and plebeians to unite against a common enemy. She also argues that this common goal was reinforced by a common Protestant religious identity, and by the increasing intermingling of the Scottish and English elites.[13] Less readily acknowledged as catalysts for the formation of British identity were the Union with Ireland, and the loss of the American colonies which produced a new approach to Empire. Yet, these two sets of events produced new strains on the eighteenth-century British State and the associated notions of identity, and therefore demanded substantial adaptation.

From the British State's perspective, the Union provided a way that it could protect British interests in Ireland and also support the threatened Irish elite. However, Britain now had direct responsibility for an unstable Irish nation, which was composed of Catholics in the main,

---

[13] Colley, *Britons cf.* Keith Robbins, 'Religion and identity in modern British history' in Keith Robbins (ed.), *History, Religion and Identity* (London, 1993). He questions how 'common' English and Scottish Protestantism actually was, since denominational differences could frequently be more divisive than unifying. This issue is particularly relevant to the discussion of 1820s English Liberalism below.

who could not easily be absorbed into a Protestant state and culture. There was growing concern during the nineteenth century in England about Irish agrarian protest and emerging nationalism, and about the financial problems of dealing with Irish famines, in particular. Furthermore, the Union allowed Irish 'problems' to spill over into England, as was exemplified by the growing concern about the spread of Irish radicalism into England and Scotland. Therefore, Britain could ill afford to ignore Irish events and politics.

British imperialism in the eighteenth century was not so much a system of exerting British control overseas, as a series of ad hoc arrangements through which Britain could protect its interests in India, North America, and Ireland. In most cases, then, 'imperialism' was not actually carried out by agents of the British State, but by entrepreneurs, settlers, soldiers, missionaries, and so on, and the British State had relatively little success at controlling their activities.[14] The British State did what it could to back up the economic interests of British entrepreneurs, but in general it did little more. However, the loss of the American colonies as a result of the War of Independence forced those involved in British colonial and foreign policy to reconsider the means by which British power could be effectively exerted overseas. Since the English and Scottish economies were increasingly dependent upon imperial trade, especially the emerging manufacturing industries, Britain was also aware of how damaging it would be to lose other colonial possessions, especially India. Furthermore, the costs of the American War in defence of British interests, and world war that ensued, had crippled the British State.[15] Nevertheless, there was an increasing British desire to extend economic influence to new territories in the nineteenth century, and Britain also acquired formal control of territory on a much larger scale than it had beforehand.[16] Some of this new territory was acquired through war, but there was also a growing emphasis on the development of colonies of British

---

[14] P.J. Marshall, *'A Free Though Conquering People': Britain and Asia in the eighteenth century* (London, 1981), 2 and his 'Empire and Authority in the later eighteenth century', *JICH* 15:2 (Jan. 1987), 105-122; P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas. I. the old colonial system', *Economic History Review* 39 (1986), 501-25; Andrew N. Porter, 'Religion and Empire: British expansion in the long nineteenth century, 1780-1914', *JICH* 20:3 (Oct. 1992), 370-90.

[15] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: war, money and the English state 1688-1783* (New York, 1989), 88-133.

[16] P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism. I: innovation and expansion 1688-1914* (London, 1993).

settlement (including the Australian colonies and New Zealand). The development of settlement colonies in the nineteenth century, the magnitude of British territorial expansion, and the need to defend that territory, increasingly involved the British State directly.

The American War also had a direct influence on the relationship between English identity and imperialism. It showed that an 'English identity' could be re-interpreted by the Americans, whose used the 'rights of Englishmen' for their own purposes, and this showed that English identity was not necessarily a stable basis for empire. What was left was a variety of non-English peoples - French Canadians, the Irish, Indians, and so on. Imperial rule had to adopt a more flexible sense of Britishness to manage this polyglot empire. In particular, French Catholics were incorporated in this British Empire through the 1774 Quebec Act.[17]

There is growing evidence that all these circumstances stimulated the British State to devise models of colonial rule that could be adapted to the needs of widely differing peoples and circumstances. Thus there was a new willingness to consider the application of varying models of Britishness beyond English shores, and less reliance on a model which enforced a narrowly English model of culture, religion, and political institutions, on territories that were important to Britain. In the new colonies of settlement (like Canada and Australia), the British State opted for a plan of developing stable societies with British institutions and values. Because these white colonial populations would share British values and see themselves as part of a British world, they would see their interests as coincident with British interests. Thus it was hoped that Britain could avoid using the kind of costly military force to maintain its colonial interests that had become necessary in the American War of Independence. Instead, in the long-term and in controlled circumstances, power would be ceded to 'British' colonial elites by granting local self-government, without any threat to British economic or strategic interests. This new model of imperialism, in which colonies were loosely tied to the British State in a familial relationship, was carried through in the 1840s and 50s in Canada, New Zealand, and the Australian colonies.[18] However, in older colonies like India where the proportion of white

---

[17] I am indebted to Professor Peter Marshall for this important insight. The Quebec Act was referred to extensively in other colonies with plural white populations, but was not usually seen as a viable precedent for dealing the Irish, who were much closer to home and who became a 'metropolitan problem' after 1801.

[18] Though Britain was to find that these elites did not always continue co-operative (as Victoria

settlers was small, the British State maintained strong direct rule throughout the nineteenth century. It was not believed to be possible to develop a 'British' colonial elite among non-Christian natives, nor to impose a British elite which could win legitimate leadership in succeeding generations. There was a growing division between colonies of settlement which attracted growing numbers of British settlers; and the older colonies where British settlers were vastly outnumbered.

The creation of a new 'British world' of settlement colonies in the nineteenth century involved the spread of British civilisation, peoples, language, and the Christian religion. Because of conditions in Scotland and Ireland in particular, the new settlement colonies attracted Scottish, Irish (and to a lesser extent Welsh) as well as English ones: settlers, missionaries, entrepreneurs, colonial officials, policemen, military personnel, and, in the case of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, convicts. Moreover, there also developed a class of colonial administrators, professionals, and officers in the armed forces, which migrated temporarily before returning to homes in Britain, or which travelled from one colony to another. Ireland and Scotland played an important role in all aspects of this migration.[19] The experiences, identities and assumptions that Scottish and Irish people took with them were not English; nor were the new settlement colonies like England. These new colonies were pluralist in cultural, racial and religious terms and, in the long term, this introduced a greater degree of pluralism into metropolitan Britain, as colonial officials and some colonists came home.

The imperial Diaspora had an important effect on British identity in the Empire, but one

---

demonstrated when they went protectionist). John Manning Ward, *Colonial Self-Government: the British experience 1759-1856* (London, 1976); See also Peter Burroughs, *The Canadian Crisis and British Colonial Policy 1828-1841* (London, 1972); Phillip A. Buckner, *The Transition to Responsible Government: British policy in British North America, 1815-1850* (Westport, Conn., 1985); Paul Romney, 'From the rule of law to responsible government: Ontario political culture and the origins of Canadian statism', *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1988), 86-119.

[19] Over twenty million people left the United Kingdom between 1815 and 1914, more than half of them destined for the United States. Of the remainder, 19 percent went to Canada, over 10.5 percent to the Australian and New Zealand colonies, and under 3.5 percent to South Africa. Historians now believe that about half of those migrants who left England and Wales between 1861 and 1900 later returned to their homes. Unfortunately it is more difficult to estimate how many of the remainder travelled from one place to another within the 'British world', and we have less quantitative data about the first half of the century in general. Ged Martin and Benjamin E. Kline, 'British emigration and new identities' in P.J. Marshall (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1996), 255.

which is difficult for historians to quantify. While there was little attempt strictly to replicate English political and legal institutions in these new colonies, it was generally believed that the high proportion of British settlers meant that these colonies could not be ruled as if they were composed of indigenous peoples only. Britons expected the support of the British State, and they also expected some approximation to the British institutions which they had experienced at home. From the perspective of the British State, it was necessary to grant basic British institutions so that the new colonies would feel 'British' enough to voluntarily maintain the link with the 'mother country'. In addition, the participation of people from the whole of the United Kingdom (and not England only), combined with the fact that 'British' status was much more significant overseas than English, Scottish, or Irish status, meant that in a very real sense the 'metropolis' for this 'British world' comprised the whole of the United Kingdom.

The implications of Irish and imperial events on religious and political ideology within England became unavoidable in the nineteenth century.[20] The most obvious examples of this spill-over of Irish and colonial issues into domestic politics in Britain, were the development of an anti-Catholic backlash after the Catholic Emancipation Act, the involvement of an increasing proportion of the British public in missionary work in Ireland and the Empire (both direct involvement and fund-raising), and the increasing preoccupation with the issues raised by slavery and the slave trade.[21] Furthermore, the gradual re-definition of the British State and of citizenship, and increasing popular participation in politics, were closely related with the issues raised by Empire and by Ireland. For example, the first outpouring of popular political fervour in Britain during the nineteenth century was the movement for the abolition of the slave trade,

---

[20] Due to space restrictions, this Chapter's analysis is confined to the elite, however it does seem that Union with Ireland and Empire had important effects on identity at the popular level as well. The latter is a burgeoning field of research. See, for example, John Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986); John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: religion and national life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London, 1994); Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: myths and metaphors of popular imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester, 1994); Catherine Hall, 'The economy of intellectual prestige: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the case of Governor Eyre', *Cultural Critique* (Spring 1989), 176-96 and her '"From Greenland's icy mountains ... to Afric's golden sand": ethnicity, race, and nation in mid-nineteenth-century England', *Gender and History* 5:2 (Summer 1993), 212-29.

[21] John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991), and his *God and Greater Britain*; B. Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Leicester, 1990); Catherine Hall, '"Afric's golden sand"' and her 'Imperial man: Edward Eyre in Australasia and the West Indies 1833-66' in Schwarz, *The Expansion of England*, 130-70.

which raised fundamental questions of race, identity, and British involvement overseas.[22] This was quickly followed by popular agitation in Ireland over Catholic Emancipation, which made itself felt in England as a direct result of the Union with Ireland.[23] Thus the Union with Ireland represented a direct challenge to belief in a specifically Protestant notion of British identity.

The enhancement of centralised state power in response to the crises of the American and French Revolutions, and the Napoleonic Wars, was supported by the increasing intermeshing of English with Scottish and Irish elites through intermarriage and inheritance of property, and by the admission of many Scottish and Irish peers into British orders of chivalry and the House of Lords.[24] The Irish elite found it easier to gain admission into this British elite after the Union, though their absorption was less seamless than the absorption of the Scottish elite had been. Between 1801 and 1830 half the peerages bestowed were for some form of state service, and this gave the Irish minor gentry the opportunity to join the ranks of those Irish families who had risen to the peerage during the eighteenth century.[25] The Spring Rice family was one of these (when Spring Rice was made Lord Monteagle after his term as Chancellor of the Exchequer), as were the Verekers (see Chapter 5). As the Irish gentry found it increasingly difficult to maintain their estates during the nineteenth century, they sought employment in the army, colonial administrations or as colonial professionals (particularly engineers and lawyers, educated at Trinity College Dublin). As a result, historians might expect to find that their particular interpretations of Britishness had a direct impact on the colonies, or that 'the British model' promoted in the colonies was as much Irish as it was English. The second section of this chapter will show that this influence was substantial.

What was significant about Britishness in the nineteenth century was that it was in

---

[22] Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: the British campaigns, 1780-1870* (London and New York, 1992).

[23] There was popular agitation in England as well on the Catholic Question, but in general it was in opposition to Catholic Emancipation.

[24] David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: the aristocracy and the towns 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980); and F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963).

[25] Michael W. McCahill, 'Peerage creations and the changing character of the British nobility 1750-1830', *English Historical Review* 96 (1981), 259-84; John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: the peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1984); C.A. Bayly *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), 11 and 135.

general much less exclusive, in a geographical or cultural sense, than the popular Englishness of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, one of the most important debates about British identity in this period was about whether the Catholic Irish could be included in British identity. There were also competing views about what the extension of a British tradition into the Empire actually involved, to what extent Britishness was relevant within non-English societies, and, by mid-century, whether emancipated slaves could claim British rights.[26] These issues had been debated to some extent during the eighteenth century too, but by the nineteenth century they had penetrated the very heart of the metropolis, and were no longer avoidable. In particular, Irish Liberal notions of the British nation, which involved pluralism, an inter-denominational Christian nation, and a notion of flexibility and regional variation within a multi-national State, which were well developed in Ireland by 1820, became more prevalent among British Liberals in the 'metropolis' in the 1830s to 50s period. These notions also became important features of Liberal approaches to the Union and to the Empire in the next half century. It may not be possible to prove that this was the direct result of Irish Liberal influence. However, the English and Scottish were in general much less experienced at dealing with these particular issues than were the Irish elite, and therefore the Irish elite potentially had an important contribution to make to some of the most divisive and fundamental issues in nineteenth-century Britain. Furthermore, it is possible to demonstrate Irish Liberal influence on particular issues which had implications for the development of a broader and more flexible view of British nationhood.

Ireland's direct participation in British politics made possible a kind of influence that could not have been achieved by a colony. This was a function of distance; few people were able to combine an active role in the colonies with effective participation in the British parliament in the nineteenth century, even though Westminster was a crucial arena for policy formation and the development of political ideas. Membership of the Westminster parliament gave Irish politicians access to British official patronage, which had long been important in Scotland. Nor did most nineteenth-century colonial elites have sufficient status or accessible property to gain the same kind of marital entree to British aristocratic and gentry families, as did Irish elite

---

[26] Catherine Hall, 'Imperial man'.

families. Extensive interaction between England and Ireland was particularly obvious among the elite, but it also occurred at the popular level with the annual migrations of Irish itinerant labourers to England, the more permanent migrations to English cities, and the extensive contact between the English and Irish in ports such as Liverpool.[27] The overall level of integration between Ireland and Britain was growing in this period, especially with the developments in transport, but this integration was uneven and limited in important respects (see below). Keith Robbins argues that increasing integration within the nineteenth-century Union brought with it a greater consciousness of British identity, even within England.[28] This is undoubtedly correct but, as he points out, this does not mean that British identity was uniform and uncontested.[29]

The previous chapter showed that political ideology had an important impact on identity in Ireland. This was equally true in England and within the United Kingdom as a whole; there were a number of different versions of British identity which co-existed, and which were linked with political ideologies. For example, Parry and Deveaux refer to a notion of Liberal British identity that was Unionist in the broadest sense, pluralist, and concerned with citizenship.[30] In addition, Metcalf and Hall refer to a Liberal Britishness that was associated with the monarchy, Christian citizenship and Liberal imperialism.[31] All these accounts show that Liberal versions of British identity were quite different in tone and aim from Tory versions of British identity, which were much more English, were focused on a patriotism that was Protestant and anti-French, and that presented imperialism as a more narrowly English model. Different from both Liberal

---

[27] R.B. McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution 1760-1801* (Oxford, 1979), 141-5; R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), 345-9; Roger Swift (ed.), *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914*, (London, 1990); David Fitzpatrick, '"A peculiar tramping people": the Irish in Britain, 1801-70' in *NHI* v. 623-660.

[28] Keith Robbins, 'An imperial and multinational polity', 250-3.

[29] *cf.* Colley, *Britons*.

[30] Jonathan P. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 1993), 3-4. See also Monique L. Deveaux, 'Cultural Pluralism in Liberal and Democratic Thought' (PhD, Cambridge, 1997); Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford, 1989); Susan Mendus (ed.), *Justifying Toleration: conceptual and historical perspectives* (Cambridge, 1988) and Susan Mendus, *Toleration and the Limits of Liberalism* (London, 1989). For twentieth-century implications in Britain and Northern Ireland, see Jennifer Todd, 'Irish pluralism in a European perspective', *Etudes Irlandaises* 19:1 (Spring 1994) 155-65.

[31] Thomas R. Metcalf, *The New Cambridge History of India III.4: Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995), ch.1: 'Liberalism and Empire', 28-65; Catherine Hall, 'The economy of intellectual prestige' and '"Afric's golden sand"'.

and Tory versions of identity, were the radical British or English identities that were based on natural rights, and that have been described by Miles Taylor and Margot Finn.[32]

This variation in notions of Britishness was overlaid with an important rhetoric of universalism, but it is important for historians to look beneath this outer layer. Thus we need to ask similar questions to those examined in the last chapter: what functions did British identity serve for particular groups, both within England and elsewhere; how did this affect the various contests over identity within the United Kingdom and in the Empire; and what difference did this make to other debates?[33]

The development of British Liberalism

British Liberalism was not the same as English Liberalism; it was a political ideology that emerged in response to the circumstances and problems of the British State in the age of the Union and the Empire. Foremost among those problems in the first half of the century was 'the Irish problem' (or, more properly, a series of Irish 'problems'); as Parry commented, 'the Irish problem was the rock upon which successive British Governments foundered.[34] Most English historians already acknowledge the importance of 'the Irish problem' in the development of British Liberalism, but when they consider these issues they usually emphasise English interpretations of, and reactions to, Irish issues. However, we also need to consider the impact of Irish Liberals on the development of British Liberalism. Chapters 2 to 4 have shown that Liberalism emerged in Ireland well before it did so in England, both as a cohesive political ideology and political grouping, and as a broadly conceived social and religious language of

---

[32] Miles Taylor, 'The Freeborn Englishman and the British Empire, c.1830-1860' (paper given at the Imperial History Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, London, March 1987), his 'John Bull and the iconography of public opinion in England c.1712-1929', *Past and Present* 134 (Feb. 1992), 93-128, and his *The Decline of British Radicalism 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995). See also Finn, *After Chartism.* She specifically avoids using the notion of British identity, on the basis that English radicals relied on English cultural notions alone. See also Eric Evans, 'Englishness and Britishness: national identities, c.1790-1870' in Grant and Stringer, *Uniting the Kingdom?*, 223-43, who argues that 'British' language was used, but that English radicals saw it as interchangeable with 'English'.

[33] This Chapter emphasises the relationship between political ideology and national identity, since this is an important theme of the thesis. Cultural expressions of identity and debates were equally important, but have had to be omitted because of space constraints.

[34] Jonathan P. Parry, *Religion and Democracy: Gladstone and the Liberal Party 1867-1875* (Cambridge, 1986), 4.

reform. In addition, Irish Liberals had a substantial contribution to make in the consideration of both Irish and English political problems within a British political world. It is possible to demonstrate that Irish Liberals were active participants in British political debates, and that they made particular contributions on education and the Catholic question and other issues raised by the Union with Ireland. However, they also seem to have extended their influence to more general questions, including the development of a Liberal model of British Christian citizenship. They were able to achieve greatest influence on the religious and moralist strand of British Liberalism, because this was compatible with Irish Liberal religious concerns.

Previous chapters have shown that two distinct languages of individualism and reform developed in Ireland in the first third of the nineteenth century; one was based on Liberal religious ideas and formed the basis of Irish Liberalism, and the other was based on natural rights and formed the basis of Irish Nationalism or Radicalism. Religious Liberalism was the most important defining principle of Liberalism in Ireland, because of the crucial religious debates in the 1820s and 30s, and religious language allowed Liberal members of the elite to avoid radicalism and to form political alliances across denominational divides. It was more important in shaping the social and political vision of the Liberal Protestant gentry in Ireland, than was the ideology of political economy because political economy was more often seen as a means to a moral end, than as a basis for defining Liberalism in Ireland.[35] Religious language also allowed Irish Liberals to develop an inter-denominational notion of Britishness and citizenship which went beyond the ideology of eighteenth-century Irish Whig patriotism, and

---

[35] *cf.* Peter Gray, who argues that 'moderate Whigs' like Spring Rice had a secular approach to political economy, while 'moralist Whigs' like Charles Trevelyan and Charles Wood were motivated by providentialist approaches to political economy and social policy. Gray identifies Spring Rice's opposition to the militant evangelicalism which was so important in Trevelyan's approach to the Famine, but he is mistaken in assuming that this made Spring Rice essentially secular. Peter Gray, 'British Politics and the Ireland Question, 1843-1850' (PhD, Cambridge, 1992), esp. 246-51. Unfortunately, Hilton's pioneering work on the relationship between evangelical theology and political economy has led many historians to lump together all 'morally serious' Protestants, without recognising that their various theological positions had divergent ideological implications. (See Chapter 2 above). Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought* (Oxford, 1988). Boylan and Foley argue that political economy was a powerful ideological language that could draw attention away from denominational conflict. Thomas A. Boylan and Timothy P. Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland: the propagation and ideological function of economic discourse in the nineteenth century* (London, 1992), 76. However, at times when these religious conflicts became unavoidable (as they frequently did in nineteenth-century Ireland and in England) political economy was of little use.

that allowed them to claim a middle ground between Irish Conservatives and Irish Radicals. This notion of a Liberal middle ground, and the recognition that individualism and reform ideology could be expressed in a number of different languages, each of which had different political implications, may well be helpful in understanding British Liberalism.

The British Liberal Party was formed as an official political party with a clear electoral platform in 1857. On this basis, those historians who are primarily concerned with practical parliamentary politics argue that Liberalism (as opposed to liberality or an ill-defined popular liberalism) can be said to exist at that point.[36] Many economic historians have followed this lead, because of their view that Liberalism was based on the ideology of political economy and the political issue of free trade.[37] At the other end of the scale, historians like Cookson argue that Liberalism emerged as a political ideology in response to the Napoleonic Wars.[38] However, historians are increasingly accepting Parry's argument that a workable but informal parliamentary Liberal alliance emerged during the 1830s, that Liberalism emerged as a coherent political ideology at the same time, and that it was based on a commitment to social and political reform.[39]

British Liberalism in this period was never wholly based on natural rights, although after the failure of Chartism the two strands came to be more intermingled.[40] Liberalism's fundamental basis in the mid-nineteenth century came to be the notion of the responsible and moral individual, and the development of a Liberal model of governance which allowed the individual greater freedom of action within specified limits.[41] However, the language of rights was only one of several possible languages for expressing notions about the individual.

---

[36] John Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party* (London, 1972).

[37] Anthony Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (Oxford, 1997).

[38] J.E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: anti-war liberalism in England, 1793-1815* (Cambridge, 1982).

[39] Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 18.

[40] *cf.* Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: popular liberalism in the age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge, 1992). On the absorption of Radicals into the Liberal Party after the failure of Chartism, see John Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1996), ch.6 and Margot Finn, *After Chartism*, 186.

[41] C.B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, 1962); Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 18.

Moreover, the language of natural rights was much more the preserve of Radicals the 1820s to 50s period; even John Stuart Mill identified himself as a Philosophical Radical in this period, and not as a Liberal.[42] Instead, British Liberals before Chartism were much more inclined to moralist language and to the ideas of political economy, than to the language of natural rights.[43]

Modern British historians also increasingly agree that the early nineteenth-century Liberal 'party' involved a number of different intellectual and political strands, including the ideas of political economy and *laissez-faire*, Christian moralism (whether based on evangelical theology or Liberal Anglican theology),[44] a Foxite Whig tradition of political thought,[45] and the radical theory of individualism based on Enlightenment notions of natural rights (developed by John Stuart Mill).[46] This plethora of strands was in part the result of the emergence of two-party politics in the decades after 1832, in which disparate political groups and ideologies began to act together under a Liberal or Reform banner, in opposition to the Tory-Conservatives.[47] The ideological disagreements within this parliamentary coalition were most obvious in the decade after the 1832 Reform Act, in the decade after the continental revolutions of 1848, and in the 1890s when New Liberalism emerged.

---

[42] Joseph Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics: John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Radicals* (New Haven, 1965). His status as the archetypal English Liberal rests mainly on his treatise *On Liberty*, which was written as late as 1859, and which expounded ideology of natural rights. However, in Britain during the first half of the century, many Liberals in the United Kingdom explicitly rejected natural rights. This has led some historians to conclude that they were Whigs. See Peter Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals 1830-1852* (Oxford, 1990).

[43] Stephan Collini, *Public Moralists: political thought and intellectual life in Britain 1850-1930* (Cambridge, 1991).

[44] Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, religion, and reform 1830-1841* (Cambridge, 1987), and Parry, *Rise and Fall*.

[45] Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform*; see also Ellis Archer Wasson, *Whig Renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig party, 1782-1845* (New York and London, 1987).

[46] This is emphasised by those historians who are concerned with the relationship between British and European intellectual thought, since European Liberalism was closely related to the Enlightenment and to secular political philosophy. In particular, see Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform*, 16, who argues that parliamentary Liberal leaders and grass-roots Liberal activists shared a common commitment to democracy.

[47] David Close, 'The formation of a two-party alignment in the House of Commons between 1832 and 1841', *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), 266-77; I.D.C. Newbould, 'Whiggery and the growth of party 1830-41: organisation and the challenge of reform', *Parliamentary History* 4 (1985), 137-56.

Historians have argued about the relative importance of these strands, about which politicians should be considered as belonging to each strand, and about the point at which Liberalism emerged as a coherent ideology that could be distinguished from Whiggery.[48] They tend to draw the boundaries or characterise those in the overlapping groups differently, as Radicals or Liberals, depending on whether their focus is Radicalism or Liberalism, and depending on the historical circumstances under examination.[49] Contemporaries and historians alike have had little difficulty in differentiating between those at either end of the spectrum: revolutionary or socialist Radicals on one hand, and 'classical' Liberals or Liberal-Whigs on the other. However, the large area of ambiguity in the middle of the spectrum continues to pose problems, despite the fact that most British reformers placed themselves in that middle ground.

This debate does not get us very far; the reality was that all these ideological elements were emphasised in various combinations, depending on historical and political circumstances, and on individual preference. For example, Boyd Hilton's pioneering work on the relationship between religion and classical economics shows that the two were not mutually exclusive, and previous chapters have shown that Irish Liberals also subscribed to both sets of ideas. In addition, the relative importance of these ideological elements varied over time. For example, the Liberal Party became closely identified with the politics of free trade in the 1830s to 50s period, in the context of the debate on the Corn Laws; in 1846-7 the title 'Liberal Party' was adopted by all those who supported the abolition of the Corn Laws against Protectionists.[50]

This concern with economic theory did not replace concern with religious liberalism. On the contrary, religious liberalism had a particular significance in the 1820s, when the issue of Dissent emerged in England, and the 'Catholic Question' emerged in Ireland and then in Britain.

---

[48] Mandler, *Aristocratic government;* Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, 40-64; Boyd Hilton, 'Whiggery, religion and social reform, the case of Lord Morpeth', *HJ* 37:4 (1994), 829-59; Gray, 'British Politics and the Ireland Question', 15-20, 246-51; Abraham D. Kriegal, 'Whiggery in the age of reform', *Journal of British Studies* 32:3 (July 1993), 290-8. Ian Newbould, *Whiggery and Reform, 1830-41: the politics of government* (Stanford, Calif., 1990).

[49] For example, see Finn, *After Chartism*, 34-7, esp. 34; *cf.* Richard Bellamy (ed.), *Victorian Liberalism: nineteenth-century political thought and practice* (London, 1990) and Michael Bentley, *The Climax of Liberal Politics: British Liberalism in theory and practice 1868-1918* (London, 1987), esp. 133-7.

[50] Eli Halevy, *The History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century. 3: The Triumph of Reform, 1830-1841* trans. E.I. Watkin (London, 1950, 2nd ed.), 183n; Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England.*

During and after the repeal of the Corn Laws, religion continued to be an important determinant of voting patterns, and remained one until 1914 at least. In addition, the principle of a non-denominational nation continued to play an important role in Lord John Russell's capacity to rally Liberal and Dissenting support on social reform issues.[51] This is not to deny that Dissenters were sometimes hostile to Liberal social reforms on religious grounds, as was demonstrated by their opposition to Liberal Irish and education reforms in 1837, 1839 and 1847, and by the emergence of a popular anti-Catholic backlash. Indeed, in 1837 Lord Melbourne attributed the poor Liberal election results to popular anti-Catholicism, and he commented that 'the great body of the *English* people have been, and are, against anything like liberal government in Ireland.'[52] However, the principle of a non-denominational Christian and broadly British State was widely accepted as a key element of British Liberalism, and was systematically promoted by parliamentary Liberal leaders. The moralist language of reform was sometimes muddy, but it did represent a new, non-radical approach to the problems of citizenship, religion, social policy, the nature of governance, and the nature of the British nation. Moreover, it represented an ideological transformation from Whiggery, and was not just an adaptation; it involved a new focus on the individual which had dramatic long-term implications, even if these were not always recognised initially.

Irish Liberals and Christian Citizenship:

It is going too far to suggest that Spring Rice or even Irish Liberals in general were solely responsible for introducing Irish Liberal ideas of Christian citizenship to the English Liberal-Whig MPs. However, Spring Rice's role in influencing particular issues in British politics is a useful example of how Irish participation in the British State could affect British politics and ideology. He actively attempted to influence English Whigs and Liberal listeners on these topics in a series of articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, on education in particular;[53] he was closely

---

[51] Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 172-3.

[52] Quoted in Robert Stewart, *The Foundation of the Conservative Party* (London, 1978), 158 (italics are Melbourne's).

[53] Eighteen *Edinburgh Review* articles can be unambiguously attributed to Spring Rice, between 1825 and 1852. His first article was 'Education of the Irish Poor', *Edinburgh Review* 43 (Nov.1825), 197-224. See Walter E. Houghton (ed.), *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (Toronto, 1966-88) 3 vols.

involved with the circle of Liberal Anglican theologians and Liberal-Whig MPs who were instrumental in putting forward legislation during the 1830s which closely reflected the political ideas that Spring Rice had developed during the 1820s in Ireland;[54] he exerted long-term influence through his role in Royal Commissions, Select Committees, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Melbourne's administration, as Under-Secretary of state for the Colonial Office (briefly); and he actively distributed patronage during the period that the Liberal-Whigs were in power.[55] Furthermore, Irish Liberals in general were keen to be seen as part of a wider British Liberal movement, and explicitly sought this influence (as was shown in Chapters 4 and 5). As Wyse said in 1843, 'We [Irish Liberals MPs are] only a portion - an offshoot of the whole movement'.[56]

Boyd Hilton, Richard Brent, Robert Hole and others have shown that theology and religious moralism played an important role in English political thought in this period.[57] As Brent has shown, Liberal Anglican theology was used to broaden the notion of Protestantism to absorb Dissent.[58] However, a political rhetoric which was developed to address the problem of Dissent, drawing on Liberal Anglican theology, was still Protestant and English.[59] For English Liberal Anglicans, the important political debate of the 1820s was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts which had formally if not in practice prevented Dissenters from holding official positions or from participating in Parliament. It is true that English Liberal Anglican theologians

---

[54] Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, chs 5-7. See also Chapter 2 above.

[55] This was particularly relevant in Irish appointments to colonial posts, for example Spring Rice's influence in the Whig government was in Bourke's appointment as Governor of New South Wales. His letter to Huskisson was insufficient in 1827, but in late 1830 Bourke's appointment was approved. Spring Rice to Huskisson, 3 Dec. 1827, Huskisson Papers, BL add. mss 38752/19 f.180.

[56] Thomas Wyse to George Wyse, 17 June 1843, Wyse papers NLI ms 15019(10). See also Chapters 4 and 5 above.

[57] Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*; Parry, *Religion and Democracy*; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*; Robert Hole, *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England 1760-1832* (Cambridge, 1989); J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 1985); G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977).

[58] Brent's Chapter on the Oxford Noetics (ch.4), featuring R.D. Hampden and Richard Whately, is his only consideration of the 1820s. The remainder of the book examines theology and politics in the 1830s period, *after* Catholic Emancipation.

[59] Though it could be stretched to include Dissenters and Scotland, and Lord John Russell was particularly aware of this because he won the Huntingdonshire seat in 1820 by stirring up Dissenting support against the Duke of Manchester. See Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 75.

furnished much of the basis for Whig arguments on the issue of Dissent; what is not clear is that this represented the development of a broadly British and Christian view of citizenship and the state in the 1820s in England, as Liberal Protestant ideology did in Ireland. Although Liberal Anglican theology did leave open the possibility that a British Christian view of citizenship could develop to include Catholics, the 1820s debates prior to Catholic Emancipation show that Whigs still saw the British State as broadly Protestant only.

There had been a long-standing tradition of Whig reform and religious toleration towards Catholics. English Whigs were sympathetic to Catholic Emancipation in the early and mid-1820s, but they saw it as a secondary issue in England in comparison with the problem of Dissent. Prior to Catholic Emancipation, English Whigs were generally more concerned with protecting civil and religious liberties, and containing English radicalism, than they were with either Irish issues or citizenship. Catholic Emancipation was usually debated in England as an aspect of Irish policy, since the question was largely irrelevant in England. Thus when Whigs supported Catholic Emancipation in the early 1820s they usually did so on the basis that that it would make the Catholic population in Ireland more receptive to the spread of Protestant religion, that it would encourage stability in Ireland, and that it was a measure of religious toleration. For example, in 1826 Lord John Russell predicted that within fifty years of a Catholic Emancipation Act, 'the Catholics would become Protestants - at least ... less Catholic, and therefore more English.' He added that Protestant moral and religious instruction in Ireland would put a stop to the 'murderous intent' of the Catholic population.[60] Secondly, supporters of Catholic Emancipation did so on the grounds that O'Connell's success in mobilising popular support in Ireland meant that it was more dangerous to continue to exclude Catholics than to draw them into a State which remained overwhelmingly Protestant. There had been a long tradition of Whig support for Catholic Emancipation, associated with the Foxite Whig tradition, on the basis that it was a matter of religious toleration which should be extended to Ireland as a matter of justice.[61] However, most Whigs anticipated that Catholic Emancipation would bring a few wealthy Catholics into the body politic, and foresaw no fundamental threat to the basic nature of the British State or of British citizenship. As Lord Milton told the House of Commons,

---

[60] *Times*, 16 June 1826, quoted in Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 107.

[61] Mandler, *Aristocratic Government*, 59.

in reply to Sir Robert Inglis,

> It had been argued ... [that] the admission of a single Catholic into that House was to operate like a drop of acid in a cup of milk; that the constitution would then be completely annihilated; that the Church of England, or, if not the Church of England, then the Church of Ireland, would then be overturned. If the honourable members would indulge in ideas so truly ridiculous, ... they must not be surprised if sober men refused to give credence to such notions.[62]

The limited practical impact of Catholic Emancipation was further accentuated by the Act to disenfranchise Catholics which accompanied the Catholic Emancipation Act, and which was acceptable to most Irish Liberals. In addition, many Whigs agreed with Peel, that Catholic Emancipation would make the Irish consent to British government, and to accept other legislation which would stabilise Ireland.[63]

These reasons for supporting Catholic Emancipation contrasted with the views expressed by Irish Liberals from the early 1820s. As previous chapters have shown, Irish Liberals were already convinced that religious denomination should be separated from political participation entirely, and that it was not necessary for Catholics to be anglicised or converted in order to be moral, rational, loyal, and British. They developed Liberal Protestant theology in the context of religious conflict in Ireland, and they used this as the basis for political ideology in the 1812 to 1820 period, as a result of the 'Catholic question' specifically. Thus they looked to Catholic Emancipation not only to pacify the Irish populace, but to begin a moral regeneration of the body politic and a fundamental shift in the criteria for citizenship.

From the early 1820s these Irish Liberals were already seeking to influence English Whig opinion, and their views on Irish affairs were frequently sought by English Whigs. This was particularly true of Thomas Spring Rice, who was an active member of the Liberal Anglican religious circle described by Richard Brent, and of the Whig and political economist networks that overlapped with that religious circle. Moreover, in 1827 Spring Rice published his Catholic Emancipation pamphlet, which was designed to persuade English politicians to support the

---

[62] *Hansard 2*, xx (6 Mar. 1829), 801.

[63] See Peel's House of Commons speech, 5 Mar. 1829, *Hansard 2*, xx. 722. See also David Eastwood, '"Recasting our lot": Peel, the nation, and the politics of interest' in Brockliss and Eastwood, *Union of Multiple Identities*, 29-43, who argues that the Peel of the late 1830s and 1840s was much more in the Liberal and British Unionist mould than the aggressively Orange, Coercive, and Tory Peel of the 1820s.

measure. This pamphlet used the language of British Christian citizenship explicitly, and put forward the key ideas upon which the 1830s Liberal reform programme was based.[64]

The development of O'Connell's popular campaign in Ireland for Catholic Emancipation in 1826-27 re-focused English attention on the nature of the British State after the Union with Ireland. It was now clear that English politicians could not afford to ignore Irish political issues because they were now the direct concern of the British State, and that Irish politics, religion and ideas could intrude on political life in England to an uncomfortable degree. What forced English Whigs to develop their ideology beyond a specifically English and Protestant notion of the state and of citizenship, and to take on board Irish Liberal ideology, was the development of vitriolic opposition to Catholic Emancipation among a broad-ranging alliance of Anglicans and Dissenters, both clerics and at the popular level.[65] This coalition opposed Catholic Emancipation on the grounds that Catholics would undermine the Protestant Constitution, the Church of England, and the Protestant Monarchy. They presented a notion of British identity and statehood which was exclusively Protestant; they excluded Catholics from citizenship, and they even questioned the loyalty of Catholic subjects.

Under this kind of onslaught Whigs could hardly defend a British State that was exclusively Protestant, and at the same time support Catholic Emancipation on practical and regenerative grounds. High Churchmen like Bishop Jebb had already answered this justification for Catholic Emancipation: the religious toleration towards Catholics which Whigs had traditionally espoused involved protecting their civil and religious liberties; however, it was possible to adopt a policy of 'political exclusion and practical kindness' toward Catholics.[66] Because Liberal Anglican ideas had been constituted to deal with the problem of Dissent, they were no longer adequate for dealing with the 'Catholic question'.

---

[64] [Thomas Spring Rice], *Catholic Emancipation Considered on Protestant Principles* (London, 1827). See also Chapters 2 and 4 above.

[65] Those who had opposed the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts were reluctantly forced to accept that the British State was now Protestant and not narrowly Anglican. Ironically, they found themselves forced into alliance with Dissenters, at both the clerical and popular level, in the defence of this Protestant state. Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade* and G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830* (Oxford, 1964).

[66] Bishop John Jebb to Robert Inglis (for transmission to Peel, Secretary of state for Ireland) 16 July 1828, Peel papers, BL add. mss 40396, f.166.

This did nothing to resolve the problem that Reformers saw; Daniel O'Connell's election, despite the fact that electors knew he could not take his seat in the House of Commons on religious grounds, made it clear that Irish revolt threatened. The constant re-emergence of a revolutionary threat within the United Kingdom, in a period of revolutionary fervour throughout Europe and in England itself, was unacceptable. In 1812 Canning had expressed extraordinary faith that the state could deal with any question, including Catholic Emancipation.[67] However, O'Connell's mobilisation of vast popular support in Ireland showed that an exclusive Protestant State could not convince Irish Catholics that it was able to respond to their grievances adequately.

Naturally, the Liberal Anglican Whig response was simply to extend their ideas to encompass Catholics, using the language and ideas that were already being used by their Irish Liberal friends and colleagues, like Thomas Spring Rice. These were ideas to which English Liberal Anglican Whigs were sympathetic because of their long-standing tradition of religious toleration. However, the specific challenges posed by Union with Ireland forced them to develop a form of Liberalism that was explicitly both British and non-denominational. Thus English Liberal-Whigs began to argue that, like Dissenters, Catholics were also loyal, capable of rational thought and Christian morality, and therefore of responsible political participation. Charles Grant, for example, replied to Mr Sadler's accusation that Catholics were not capable of moral and political responsibility,[68] that he must protest against the idea that the Roman Catholic religion was less pure or excellent than the Protestant religion. Such a notion was 'preposterous'.[69]

Even those Liberal-Whigs who were not predisposed to Liberal Anglican theology, relied upon Irish Liberal arguments and information when defending Catholic Emancipation. For example, Lord Lansdowne told the House of Lords that they would be shortly called upon to consider 'how far this class [of Irish Catholics], powerful in numbers, in wealth, and in intelligence, should be left separated and detached from the great mass of the public,

---

[67] *Substance of the Speech delivered in the House of Commons, by George Canning, 22 June 1812* (London, 1812), quoted in Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 43.

[68] *Hansard* 2, xx (18 Mar. 1829), 1149-71.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1218-19.

accumulating by itself for the attainment of its own purposes, or whether it should be inseparably linked and embodied with the interest of the state, to communicate to it, and receive from it, that life and spirit which gave strength and harmony to all parts of the constitution.'[70] Significantly, he took his evidence directly from Spring Rice's *Catholic Emancipation* pamphlet, and used it to argue that the Catholic religion did not make them any less capable of responsible political participation than Protestants:

> in proportion as their numbers had increased, so also had their education increased, and so also had their wealth increased, and so also had the people increased in those qualities which entitled them to become, with advantage to themselves and to the rest of the community, partakers of the benefits of a free constitution.[71]

He clinched the argument by adding that, at present Ireland 'exhibited ... a much more favourable condition than England, with respect to the general state of morality'.[72]

Gradually, this evolved into a notion of the British State which could encompass Catholics and the Irish, and which was therefore both Christian and pluralist. British Christian Liberalism was developed into a broad-ranging programme of reform during the 1830s, which included inter-denominational education, municipal reform,[73] the abolition of slavery, the appropriation of surplus Church of Ireland funds for public use,[74] Parliamentary Reform, and free trade. These were issues which had concerned Irish Liberals for the last twenty years, and on which they had much to contribute. In particular, Liberal-Whig support for Spring Rice's education proposals relied upon the Liberal Anglican capacity to move beyond mere toleration

---

[70] *Ibid.* (13 Mar. 1829), House of Lords, 1011.

[71] *Ibid.*, 1008.

[72] *Ibid.*, 1011.

[73] The relationship between Irish and English Liberal approaches to Municipal Reform and urban politics needs much more research. It is unlikely that the similarities in Irish and English urban political culture and development of middle class Liberal ideology were the result of an anglicising effect of the Union. However, Municipal Reform was very important in the development of Liberal urban politics, and in the process of developing a bourgeois Liberal ideology, just as it had been in Ireland in the 1812 to 1820 period. See, for example, David Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700-1870* (London, 1997); Frank O'Gorman, 'Campaign rituals and ceremonies: the social meaning of elections in England 1780-1860', *Past and Present* 135 (1992), 79-115; and John Prest, *Liberty and Locality: Parliament, permissive legislation and ratepayers' democracies in the mid-nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1990).

[74] Spring Rice foreshadowed this crucial Liberal issue of 1834, during the House of Commons debates on Catholic Emancipation in 1829. *Hansard 2*, xx (16 Mar. 1829), 1095-1101, esp. 1098.

of Catholics for reasons of social justice and toleration, to a broader notion of Christian moralism and rationality within the Union.

Education

Irish Liberals in general, and Thomas Spring Rice in particular, were fundamental to the development of British Liberal-Whig educational policy, which the Liberal Party tried in Ireland and then hoped to apply in England. As Chapters 2 and 3 showed, the Irish National Schools system was largely based on Irish Liberal theology and educational practice in the preceding decade. The failure of the 1825 Commission of Inquiry to obtain agreement between the Catholic and Church of Ireland bishops and the Kildare Place Society, made it possible for Thomas Spring Rice to make an attempt at solving the problem of Irish education, and thus to shape what became the National Schools system. In March 1828, he moved for the appointment of a Select Committee which he then chaired, and completed the report by mid-May.[75] The Irish Liberal belief in the Catholic capacity for morality and citizenship without conversion made their educational vision a viable basis for alliance.

Spring Rice's 1828 proposals went beyond those of 1825, by creating mechanisms to ensure that the practice would not come to contradict the stated ideals (as they had done in the Kildare Place Society). These mechanisms included increased state support and supervision through an interdenominational board (whose composition would now be regulated by the State), the creation and distribution of non-denominational texts, the distribution of both Catholic and Protestant versions of the Bible, and a curriculum which involved a greater emphasis on rationality (both for useful knowledge and to aid in the achievement of basic Christianity and morality). As a result, it was now possible to obtain agreement from both Catholic and Anglican hierarchies in Ireland. The 1831 bill was the result of the previous decade's negotiations, and it much more closely reflected the Irish Liberal perspective than it did the other perspectives that existed in the 1820s.[76] Thus the capacity of the Irish Liberal

---

[75] Ibid., xviii (May 1828), 119-124; 1828 (341) iv. *Report from the Select Committee to whom the reports on the subject of Education in Ireland were referred.*

[76] For example, Lord Brougham's Whig secular plan. [Henry Brougham], 'Diffusion of Knowledge', *Edinburgh Review* 47 (1828), 118-134. Spring Rice claimed that he was the author of the National Schools scheme. Thomas Spring Rice to Lord Northampton, 14 Mar. 1836, Monteagle papers, NLI ms 553. See also Sir Stephen Edward de Vere to Thomas Spring Rice

vision to act as a basis for alliance during the 1820s, and Spring Rice's particular role in mediating between London and Irish groups who were concerned with education, were both crucial determinants of the 1831 plan. The subsequent withdrawal of the Protestant Churches, and the conflict within the Catholic Church over the National Schools system in Ireland, was a heavy blow for Irish Liberals.[77] Even so, the National Schools system served as a model for those who became interested in education for citizenship, and those who sought inter-denominational schooling, in both England and the settlement colonies.[78]

Spring Rice's influence did not end with his ability to persuade English and Irish politicians and churchmen of his educational vision for Ireland. Richard Brent and Jonathan Parry both show that Spring Rice was a prominent actor in a whole range of Liberal-Whig initiatives during the 1830s, that were aimed at the creation of a non-denominational Christian state, including the effort to establish state-controlled inter-denominational schooling in England.[79] Richard Brent and Denis Paz even found themselves in uncharacteristic agreement that Spring Rice and Russell were together responsible for the English education proposals of 1839. They also agreed that Spring Rice played a crucial role in trying to gain public and parliamentary support for those proposals, and in his Treasury Board role he controlled the distribution of funds to the various education bodies.[80] Mary Poovey argues that this inter-denominational education scheme represented British Liberal ideology, which she argues was an 1830s development that resulted from interaction between Irish and English Liberalism. Interestingly, she uses the English reformer Kay-Shuttleworth as an exemplar of this new

---

(2nd Baron Monteagle), 27 July [c.1896], Monteagle papers in possession of Lord Monteagle. Spring Rice's claim has much more basis than Thomas Wyse's (see also Chapter 3).

[77] See Donald Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: the National System of education in the nineteenth century* (London, 1970); Emmet Larkin, 'The Quarrel among the Roman Catholic Hierarchy over the National System of Education in Ireland 1838-41' in R.B. Browne (ed.), *The Celtic Cross* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1964); Paul Connell, *Parson, Priest and Master: National education in Co. Meath, 1824-41* (Dublin, 1995); See also 1835 (45, 46) xxxiii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland, with Appendix.*

[78] See below; and Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational state: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, Ontario, 1988).

[79] Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, 229-51.

[80] *Ibid.*, 242; Denis G. Paz, *The Politics of Working-Class Education in Britain, 1830-50* (Manchester, 1980), esp. 41-43, 105-108. See also [Thomas Spring Rice], 'Ministerial plan of education - Church and Tory misrepresentations', *Edinburgh Review* 70 (Oct. 1839), 149-80.

Liberalism, though she could have equally chosen Spring Rice.[81] Furthermore, the growing Liberal interest over the next fifty years in the role of education in citizenship, whether passive or active, was partly a result of these Irish Liberal ideas and reforming initiatives. The theologian Baden Powell, was a strong supporter of the 1839 education plan, because it upheld 'the free support of education among all sects alike, always based on religion'.[82] Liberal 'idealists', like T.H. Green at the end of the nineteenth century, were interested in education for citizenship for many of the same reasons.[83]

By 1834 the relationship between Church and state had already become a defining issue in the emerging British Liberal Party;[84] this Liberal Party continued to support an Established Anglican Church, but with Spring Rice's urging, the English Liberal Anglicans proposed that the surplus revenues of the Church of Ireland be appropriated by the state, in order to fund education. It was this issue which prompted the defection of those Whigs (like Lord Stanley) who could not accept this Liberal British version of the State.[85] While Liberals were still more concerned with Dissenters than with Catholics in England, by 1835 they recognised the political importance of Irish religious questions as well, and were ready to ally with the Irish Catholic representatives by forming the 'Lichfield House compact'.[86] Russell argued that the only way of delivering good government to Ireland was to respond to the demands of 'the people' as articulated through their spokesmen. Where he disappointed Spring Rice was his view that O'Connell was a more powerful spokesman for the Irish people than Irish Liberals like Spring Rice, because of his popular support. These disagreements about how Irish policy should be decided, and the relative power of the different political groups among Irish Parliamentarians,

---

[81] Mary Poovey, 'Curing the "social body" in 1832: James Phillips Kay and the Irish in Manchester', *Gender and History* 5:2 (Summer 1993), 196-211, esp. 211.

[82] Baden Powell, *state Education Considered with Referent to Prevalent Misconceptions on Religious Grounds* (London and Oxford, 1840), 74.

[83] Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the civic ideal in world history, politics and education* (London and New York, 1990), 74-5. See also Melvin Richter (ed.), *Political Theory and Political Education* (Princeton, 1980); John Morrow, 'Ancestors, legacies and traditions: British idealism in the history of political thought', *History of Political Thought* 6 (1985) 491-504; and Avital Simhony, 'Idealist organicism: beyond holism and individualism', *History of Political Thought* 12:3 (Autumn 1991), 515-35.

[84] Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 108-10.

[85] *Ibid.*, 108; Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, ch.2.

[86] Russell to Holland, 20, 30 Sept. [1833], cited in Mandler, *Aristocratic Government*, 152-3.

cannot obscure the fact that by 1834 this was a British Liberal Party, not an English or an Irish Liberal Party; it defended a broadly Christian state, and not one which provided special protection for the Established Church together with toleration for those outside it, and it was as concerned with Irish policy as it was with English or Scottish policy.

Brent and Parry were right in their interpretation that the 1830s programme of Liberal-Whig reform demonstrated a shift toward Liberal ideology which was reliant on Liberal theology. However, Brent was not able to show the process by which religious ideas were transformed into political ideology, nor does he succeed in explaining why there was a hiatus in the agitation for parliamentary reform among Whigs in England during the 1820s, when the theological debates were at their height.[87] The development of a language of British Christian citizenship among Irish Liberals during the 1820s shows this transformation clearly. This was transmitted back to England through the political and religious networks of the Irish Liberal elite, which spanned the Irish Sea.

Irish Liberal ideas became influential in the 1830s Whig governments for a number of reasons. First, Irish Liberal ideas gave English Liberals an effective language for dealing with the problem of Ireland, that did not rely on the language of authority and coercion, or concede the Irish right of self-determination, which were identified with Tories and Radicals respectively. Second, many of the key figures in these governments shared a concern for religious and moral reformation, which provided a firm basis for co-operation with Dissenting Whigs and also made them receptive to a well-developed political rhetoric that had arisen from the same religious source. Third, many of these schemes of social and moral reform were already being explored in Ireland by Irish Liberals, and Ireland continued to be useful as a social laboratory in which political reaction could be tested. Finally, British Christian citizenship later proved useful in dealing with colonial demands for more representative political structures and self-government. Thus the interaction between English and Irish Liberals played an important role in the development of a Liberal ideology which could address the problems of the nineteenth-century British State. This provided a firm ideological basis in a Liberal, British, and Christian

---

[87] This point is made by Kriegal, 'Whiggery in the age of reform', 290-8. However, his accusation that Brent does not define Liberal Anglican theology adequately is not as well-founded.

language of reform, which was more stable than the fragmented ideology that emerged in response to the French Revolution.[88]

Parliamentary Reform and Individual Citizenship

While the Irish Liberal influence on British Liberalism can be clearly documented where the Catholic Question and education are concerned, it is less easy to prove that they directly influenced wider questions. However, the ideas that Irish Liberals had developed prior to 1820 came to be shared by British Liberals in the 1830s, especially on the question of citizenship. When Wellington's government fell in 1830, and the Whigs came to power on a platform of Parliamentary Reform, it became obvious to them that the issues of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform both implied shifts in the way House of Commons representation could be justified, in the kind of nation that it represented, and in citizenship itself. Not all of those who supported Parliamentary Reform were concerned with citizenship, and the primary focus of the Act was the redistribution of parliamentary seats. However, this redistribution of seats affected the electorate, and the Liberal-Whig framers of the Act quickly began to show concern about ensuring that the newly enfranchised voters would be capable of exercising their citizenship responsibly.

The 1832 Reform Bill involved a shift away from the idea that it was the quality of individual MPs that mattered rather than those who elected them, so long as the major landed, moneyed, and intelligent interests were represented. Instead, the Bill involved the notion that the composition of Parliament should reflect the changing nature of the nation, which included a newly powerful industrial Interest. In identifying those interests there was a new reliance on numerical data, as a way of identifying the ways in which the nation's composition and economic interests were changing. Moreover, Parliamentary Reform was not intended to undercut deferential social relations, but instead to differentiate between legitimate and illegitimate influence.[89]

---

[88] Mark Philp, 'The fragmented ideology of Reform' in M. Philp (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge, 1991), 50-77.

[89] David Eastwood, 'Contesting the politics of deference' in Miles Taylor and Jon Laurence (eds), *Party, state and Society: electoral behaviour in modern Britain* (Aldershot, 1996); David Spring, 'Aristocracy, social structure, and religion in the early Victorian period', *Victorian*

However, this measure of parliamentary reform also involved a new emphasis on the electorate itself and not just on the representatives that the system produced. The debates show a new emphasis on ways of making sure that only those with the capacity for citizenship were enfranchised.[90] The disenfranchisement bill which accompanied Catholic Emancipation had made clear that the Catholic Question had a direct impact on citizenship, and Spring Rice's comments about the forty-shilling freehold franchise in 1829 foreshadowed the debate on citizenship that accompanied the 1832 Reform Act. He told the House of Commons that Irish Catholic forty-shilling freeholders who leased their property were 'illegal, unconstitutional, and contrary to the freedom of election' in a way that Catholic forty-shilling freeholders who owned their property were not. They were incapable of responsible citizenship, not because they were Catholic but because they leased their property and were therefore open to electoral corruption.[91] Lord Milton backed him up by arguing that,

> The best way of creating an independent body of electors would be to establish a *bona fide* forty-shilling freeholder who had his freehold in fee simple as in this country, and not on leasehold tenure as in Ireland.[92]

Lord Howick also argued in 1829 that the question was

> whether the freehold qualification was the best adapted for discovering those who were most fit to exercise the important privilege of returning members to parliament. [93]

Howick believed that forty-shilling freeholders should be disenfranchised because they were 'the lowest orders of the community' and therefore lacked independence, and not because they were Catholic.

In 1832, the Reform Act's Liberal-Whig framers also showed concern with assessing the capacity for citizenship among those groups that would achieve political participation when the industrial cities gained MPs. Their aim was to avoid granting full citizenship to those who were

---

Studies 7 (1963), 263-80; D.C. Moore, *The Politics of Deference: a study in the mid-nineteenth century English political system* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1976) and his 'Political morality in mid-nineteenth century England: concepts, norms, violations', *Victorian Studies* 13:1 (Jan. 1969), 5-36.

[90] Parry, *Rise and Fall*, 86.

[91] *Hansard* 2, xx (20 Mar. 1829), 1379.

[92] *Ibid.*, 1380.

[93] *Ibid.*, 1386.

clearly not capable of responsible political behaviour. The new £10 franchise was not intended to enfranchise people of the same class across the various boroughs, but was instead seen as an indicator that would produce voters with an acceptable level of 'political intelligence' and, by implication, it would keep out those who were not capable or responsible. Though the franchise continued to rely on the possession of property as an indicator of political capacity, the Liberal-Whig framers were also willing to consider new ways of producing a 'respectable and intelligent' constituency. They argued that rent levels and politicisation were determined by the degree of economic development and commercial activity, as well as by direct property ownership, and therefore that the new ten-pound franchise (which gave the vote to occupiers as well as owners) would produce a 'respectable and intelligent' constituency.[94] Thus in their parliamentary speeches, Liberals consistently referred to the 'intelligence', independence (or resistance to corruption), and moral virtue of the people that the act would enfranchise, whether directly or by redistribution of seats.

The debates about Parliamentary Reform in England involved the nature of citizenship directly, as well as the nature of the nation and of representation.[95] It was the Irish Liberals who had thought out these issues in the 1820s. For this reason, the notion of a broadly Christian and British citizenship (and not just Protestant and English) originated in Ireland and not in England, and was of critical significance for Irish Liberals in particular. It was this same group of Irish Liberals, joined by some English Liberals who had been in Ireland during the 1820s, who became most influential in the development of a broad-ranging programme of Liberal reform over the next decade, and which relied explicitly on the language of British Christian citizenship.

---

[94] Campbell, *Hansard 3*, lv (July 1831), 830; Bulwer, *ibid.*, vi (25 Aug. 1831), 608; Hawkins, *ibid.*, vii (19 Sept. 1831), 198-9; Grey, *ibid.*, viii (7 Oct. 1831) 327.

[95] T.A. Jenkins, *The Liberal Ascendancy 1830-1886* (London, 1994); Alan Sykes, *The Rise and Fall of British Liberalism 1776-1988* (London, 1997).

II. BRITISHNESS AT THE MARGINS - NEW SOUTH WALES

> ... the people of these different persuasions will be united together in one bond of peace, and taught to look up to the Government as their common protector and friend, and that thus there will be secured to the state good subjects and to Society good men.[96]

Historians of Empire are somewhat divided on whether or not there was an overall shift in the attitude of the British State toward the Empire, as a result of the emergence of early nineteenth-century Liberalism.[97] However, it is clear that just as political ideology affected British identity in the 'metropolis', it also affected metropolitan views of the Empire. Thus Conservative and Liberal images of British identity and of the British Empire co-existed in a competitive relationship with each other.

In trying to identify the components of British identity (or what he calls 'British nationalism') in the imperial context, Bayly stresses the link with aggressive evangelical Protestantism. He argues that this resulted in a specifically Protestant variant of British imperialism, reinforced by the late 1820s debates on the Protestant Constitution in England and Ireland, and which depended on the exclusion of Catholics from active citizenship and also from a sense of belonging to the wider British community. Typically, this was reflected in attitudes toward non-white racial groups who were either to be absorbed through Protestant conversion or largely excluded from colonial society. It was also reflected in attempts to establish the state Church in the colonies, and in an emphasis on the notion of justice under the rule of British law.[98] Bayly identified British Imperialism until the 1830s as a conservative vision which was based on Scottish and English Protestantism, and he links this with the emerging British identity described by Linda Colley. He also argues that conservative imperialism in the 1780s to 1830 period differentiated between a core British identity within the United Kingdom, and the promulgation of a modified version elsewhere. It recognised that in areas with substantial non-Protestant and non-white populations, white British settlers needed to be protected by British legal and social institutions, especially by British law, but that as a result

---

[96] Bourke to Lord Stanley, 30 Sept. 1833, *HRA* series 1, xvii. 227.

[97] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 248-56.

[98] Though the Established Church in Scotland was not Anglican, it was assumed that there was no justification for variation from the English model in the new settlement societies.

the British liberty granted to white settlers by the British State was of the negative kind. Thus the emphasis was on the concepts of justice and security rather than on liberty in its broader sense, and this matched the assumption that the various groups within colonial communities would be treated differently. Legal impartiality should be guaranteed, but non-white, non-Protestant groups would be excluded from active participation in legal and political institutions. As a result, white settlers were more British than the remainder of the colonial community; British institutions were intended to protect those settlers and provide benevolent dictatorship for the remainder. Non-British groups were believed to deserve protection because the white Protestant British community was civilised, not because they had indisputable claims to British identity.

As a result, British identity in the imperial setting was conditional, and was associated with a set of values rather than particular territories. Britishness was therefore useful as a defence of autocratic government from the accusation of tyranny, and certainly many saw no difficulty in practising slavery, and in continuing to exclude Catholics and non-Christians. Therefore, conservative British imperial identity did not derive from merely inhabiting a British colony (or Ireland), but upon a world-view which was defined by Protestantism in particular. There was not only a division within these new societies between the British and the non-British, but also a division between the metropolitan, core British nation and the peripheral British empire. This divide was spanned by British law to a limited degree only. The conservative view of the British Empire clearly remained important throughout the nineteenth century. It was associated with a particular variant of British identity which was centred on English identity and Protestantism, but which was adapted to suit the circumstances of Union with Scotland and the requirements of white colonists overseas.

However, conservative British imperialism competed with a Liberal version of the British Empire, which was linked with a more inclusive variant of British identity, and which involved the emerging language of British Christian reform. Thus as Thomas Metcalf argues, Liberal Imperialists shared a set of fundamental assumptions, which were drawn from British Liberalism, and which later differentiated them from Disraeli's Tory Imperialists. The most important Liberal belief was that 'human nature was 'intrinsically the same everywhere, and that it could be totally and completely transformed, if not by sudden revelation as the evangelicals

envisaged, then by the workings of law, education, and free trade.' He argues that Liberal imperialists sought societies, in both the metropolis and the colonies, in which individuals could become 'autonomous, rational beings, leading a life of conscious deliberation and choice'. Like Britain, colonial societies would emerge in which individual self-reliance, character, and merit would be rewarded.[99] Metcalf traces the implications of this imperial perspective on early nineteenth-century India, and in many ways this vision can be traced in settlement colonies as well. However, in addition to this ideology of Liberalism, the Liberal notion of Britishness was important as well. All the individuals who lived in the United Kingdom, or in the British colonies, could be considered British, regardless of race or culture. However, Liberal Imperialists also believed in the spread of Christian religion and civilisation. This more flexible version of British identity opened up the possibility of creating societies in the Empire which fitted within the broad parameters of Britishness, but which did not replicate English society. Instead, the British world comprised a set of societies which were loosely linked within a British model, but which also involved important variations from a narrow English model (as did Ireland). The Liberal aim, then, was to encourage cohesive and functional societies throughout the world, in which legitimate and moral colonial elites would emerge to rule according to the traditions of British liberty. This was a very idealistic programme, and one which saw imperial rule as a moral endeavour in the main.

This section explains the role played by Irish Liberals in promoting this broader model of British identity in the Empire in the 1830s, and the way colonial societies responded to it. Their role is significant because their Irish elite background and Irish Liberal ideology made it possible for them to differentiate more fully between a flexible British model of Empire and a more restrictive English model. This was important in emerging settlement colonies, because this model was pluralist, and capable of accommodating variation and change, and was therefore useful to colonial groups who sought to negotiate with the British State.

We must rethink the traditional model of British imperialism that historians have described, because large numbers of the 'British' people involved at all levels of Empire were in

---

[99] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 28-65, esp. 29.

fact Scottish, Irish, or Welsh, rather than English.[100] These participants had different experiences of British rule in their own societies from the experiences of those living within England, and had different cultural assumptions. This meant that once they moved outside the confines of the Union they took with them a range of different versions of British identity, which were distinguishable from English identities. Irish national identity among the Catholic populace living in settlement colonies is interesting because it often involved an opposition between Irish and English identity, which would seem to work against their acceptance of a British imperial identity. However, the flood of emigration from Ireland during the nineteenth century meant that they were major participants on the 'metropolitan' side of colonial encounters. According to David Fitzpatrick, approximately 1.3 million Irish-born people were living in Britain, Canada or Australia by 1861.[101] The picture of 'a colonised people' that were transformed into 'colonisers' when they emigrated into the Empire is compelling, and not just among settlers. Even before Catholic Emancipation in 1829 Irish Catholics were prominent in the British Army, and afterward they began to take full advantage of employment opportunities within colonial administrations and the colonial police forces.[102] There can be little doubt that Irish Catholics took advantage of the opportunities offered by membership of a British Empire, but this did not necessarily force them to relinquish their Irishness. On the contrary, there were many examples of British-Irish cultural conflict within settlement colonies, especially on questions that involved religion. The Irish continued to be involved in debates about their relationship with the British State, but they did not oppose membership of a British Empire. There were substantial advantages in maintaining a relationship with the British State when the Irish emigrated to the

---

[100] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 109-200, on the role of Scottish merchants, gentry and professional people into commercial opportunities and office throughout the eighteenth-century Empire, and the pronounced Scottish tendency toward loyalism that continued until the Boer War. See also Rosane Rocher and Michael E. Scorgie, 'A family empire: the Alexander Hamilton cousins, 1750-1830', *JICH* 23:2 (1995), 189-210; and A. Davey, *The British Pro-Boers 1877-1902* (London, 1978), 127-8. For studies of the Irish in British colonies, see Donal P. McCracken (ed.), *The Irish in Southern Africa 1795-1910* (Durban, 1992); D.H. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario* (Montreal, 1984); P.J. O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney, 1987); *NLI*, v. chs 28-31 by David Fitzpatrick, Patrick O'Farrell, and David Noel Doyle. See also Donal Lowry, 'Irish settlement and identity in South Africa before 1910', *IHS* 28:110 (Nov. 1992), 134-49.

[101] *NHI* v. Appendix 2, 609. Roughly the same number again were living in the USA.

[102] W.E. Vaughan, 'Ireland c.1870' in *NHI* v. 794; Keith Jeffery, 'Introduction' in Keith Jeffery (ed.), *'An Irish Empire?' aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996), 17 and see also ch.4; Peter Karsten, 'Suborned or subordinate?: the Irish soldier in the British army', *Journal of Social History* 17 (1983), 31-64; Hiram Morgan, 'Empire-building: an uncomfortable Irish heritage', *Linen Hall Review* 10:2 (Autumn 1993), 8-11.

colonies, not least because it gave them power in contests with native inhabitants.

On the face of it, the Irish elite seem to be a group of English colonisers in Ireland who should have made the leap into the Empire overseas without much difficulty. It is certainly true that the Irish elite played an increasing role in the Empire during the nineteenth century, in the professions, the British Army, colonial administrations, and in colonial police forces (in the latter part of the century). The available figures show that by the First World War approximately one-fifth of the broad band of middle and upper class graduates from Oxford sought employment in the Empire.[103] These proportions should probably be at least doubled for the equivalent strata who were educated at Trinity College, and who increasingly sought opportunities to beyond the limited opportunities for employment in Ireland. In Australia, some historians and contemporary observers have assumed that the Irish elite became English when in the Empire. As Charles Gavan Duffy saw it in the 1860s,

> To strangers at a distance who read of Murphys, Barrys, MacMahons, and Fitzgeralds in high places, it seemed the paradise of the Celt - but they were Celts whose forefathers had broken with the traditions and creed of the island [that is, Irish Protestant gentlemen].[104]

Commenting on Duffy's interpretation of the Irish elite in colonial Australia, Patrick O'Farrell concluded that 'the Irish in high places in Australia exhibited little that was distinctively Irish'.[105] However, closer examination shows that this is a misleading view. The Irish elite's tendency to subscribe to multiple identities was a tradition that they continued in the colonies. As a result, they presented themselves as Irish, English, British, or colonial, depending on the circumstances. This did not in any way diminish the impact of their Irish experience and presumptions, nor did it make them English in outlook.

Far from espousing a narrowly English view of Empire on the colonies, many Irish colonists presented a broadly British identity that owed much to their experience of Ireland. They gave a powerful boost to British imperial identity in the colonies because they had already learned how to manipulate that identity for their own purposes in Ireland, and they continued to

---

[103] P.J. Marshall, 'Imperial Britain' in P.J. Marshall (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1996), 330.

[104] Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (London, 1898, 2nd ed.), ii. 139.

[105] Patrick O'Farrell, 'The Irish in Australia and New Zealand, 1791-1870' in *NHI* v. 677.

do so in the colonies. There is growing evidence that developing elites in settlement colonies participated in debates on the nature of the British tradition and the role it should play in colonial societies, and that they adapted this identity to suit their own purposes. Richard Bourke was part of a group who tried to extend a specifically Liberal and British model to the settlement colonies, when he was Lieutenant-Governor in the Cape of Good Hope, and then in New South Wales. For reasons of space, this chapter will use Bourke's role in New South Wales to illustrate this argument only. However, some similar points can also be made about the development of Liberalism and British identity in the Cape colony and also Canada.[106]

When Richard Bourke accepted the appointment as Governor of New South Wales, he did so with the expectation that Transportation would shortly cease, and that he would guide the colony through the transition from a penal colony to a free British society.[107] In the six years that he governed New South Wales, Richard Bourke and the members of his network, which he systematically placed in positions of power within the colonial administration, were not seeking to develop social and political institutions for a free society based on a purely English model. They were instead seeking to develop a society that would remain within a broadly British model, but which was not constrained by the need to conform to English precedents strictly. Bourke and his circle promoted the development of a broadly based moral citizenry that would include ex-convicts and would be non-denominational, and they also tried to create the conditions in which a responsible and legitimate elite would develop. It was the experience of Liberal members of the Irish elite, within Ireland itself, that shaped these ideas and made them keen to develop a society in Australia that could surmount the problems that seemed insoluble in Ireland. Theirs was a very idealistic programme, but it was not democratic or radical in intent.[108] Even more important, it offered pragmatic benefits to those groups that vied for

---

[106] The development of colonial Liberalisms will be examined in forthcoming work by Elizabeth Elbourne of McGill University in Canada. This book will extend her DPhil research on the relationship between religion and Liberalism in the Cape colony. Elizabeth Elbourne, '"To Colonize the Mind": Evangelicals in Britain and the Cape Colony, 1790-1837' (DPhil, Oxford, 1992).

[107] Bourke to Spring Rice, 24 Nov. 1829, Bourke papers, Rhodes House Library, Bourke papers ms Afr.t.7/3.

[108] Mark Francis, 'A case of mistaken paternity: the relationship between nineteenth-century liberals and twentieth-century liberal democrats', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 31:2 (1985), 282-99. See also his *Governors and Settlers: images of authority in the British colonies 1820-60* (Cambridge, 1992).

power in Australia because it showed them how to negotiate with the British State effectively. It is only by understanding the fact that much of this was inspired by Irish elite experiences and Irish attitudes toward identity, and not by English assumptions, that it is possible to properly understand many of the debates around identity and citizenship in this period. This also allows historians to understand more fully the interactions between different groups within Australia society during the nineteenth century.

Irish Liberal insights on how to develop transportable British identities in elites throughout the British world, and on how to establish bodies of good citizens among colonial populations, meant that Irish colonial officials like Richard Bourke had a particular importance in the Britain imperial endeavour during the nineteenth century. These two issues were of central importance in New South Wales, for example, and it is clear that Richard Bourke used his specific non-English experience of Ireland to attempt the shaping and reformation of both the Australia elite, the convicts, and the development of political institutions.

The imposition of the British tradition on colonies like New South Wales involved a debate on the relationship between British political institutions and New South Wales circumstances. The issue of how British citizenship should be defined in colonies that differed from England was an important part of the development of the British Empire. Bourke self-consciously sought to build a more perfect 'Ireland' in Australia which would avoid the pitfalls (as he saw them) of allowing a corrupt aristocracy to develop or a political structure that excluded large portions of the population, and to this end he sought to influence debate on issues related to citizenship. During Bourke's governorship a transformation occurred in the debates on citizenship. In the 1820s the debate revolved around the question of whether New South Wales conformed sufficiently to English standards to allow the adoption of English political institutions. By the 1840s, it was assumed by most participants in the debate that New South Wales should not (and was probably unable) to conform strictly to an English political model, but that it should fall within a more broadly British model. The debate then revolved around how a broader spread of political participation could be achieved, and which of the possible British political ideologies was most appropriate in New South Wales.

Issues in nineteenth-century Australian history were resolved in the context of competition between a number of different 'British' conceptual frameworks, and the results

were not determined by pragmatic concerns and interests alone. For example, the establishment of the colonial legal system was not simply the application of the English Common Law to New South Wales.[109] The issue of trial by jury, including the questions of who should be eligible, when the membership should be widened, what criteria should be used, and whether ex-convicts should be tried under civil law, was debated in the context of different assumptions about what the British tradition actually involved, and different beliefs about the nature of British citizenship. The same is true for the development of British political institutions in New South Wales, including the establishment of partially elective Legislative bodies and the basis of the franchise.

In his role as Governor, Richard Bourke was deeply involved in formal empire and was therefore constrained by the Colonial Office and the Commons. However, there was always an interactive relationship between his own understandings and those promoted by the various elements of British government, and of course this relationship reflected the shifting political scene in Westminster. In New South Wales he was seen as an 'incubus sent to us by the Whig government', in the post-Reform Act wind of change.[110]

Of chief importance in Bourke's reforming vision was his view that colonial citizenship required that ex-convicts and free settlers alike should be educated in moral citizenship and should be granted full citizenship, once they had proved their moral capacity. This vision did not require that New South Wales conform to a narrowly English model, but it did rely on a broadly British view of political capacity and morality. Conversely, Bourke's predecessor Governor Darling, who was an English Tory, had seen the British model as static, indisputable, and specifically English. He concluded that it was of limited relevance to 'this anomalous society', and that neither ex-convicts nor free-settlers could any longer claim full English

---

[109] David Neal, *The Rule of Law in a Penal Colony: law and power in early New South Wales* (Cambridge, 1991); Alastair Davidson, *The Invisible state: the formation of the Australian state 1788-1901* (Cambridge, 1991); Paula Byrne, *Criminal Law and Colonial Subject: New South Wales 1810-1830* (Cambridge, 1993).

[110] Thomas Mitchell to J.M. Mitchell (brother), n.d. [c.1834], Mitchell papers, ML ms A295/2 f.248. Or, as Thomas Mitchell referred to Bourke in a letter to his mother, 'that vile Whig Governor'. Thomas Mitchell to his mother, n.d. [c.1834], Mitchell papers, ML ms A295/2. See also Edward Deas Thomson to Sir John Thomson (his father), 29 Feb. 1832, Deas Thomson papers in private possession of Mr John Grigg, London.

liberties.[111] The contrast between the two governors can be largely attributed to their different visions of Britishness and its role in the colony, as demonstrated by their diverging views about the kind of political participation that was appropriate in the colony.[112]

In 1819 two colonial ex-convict lawyers W.C. Wentworth and Robert Wardell began a campaign for trial by jury on the basis that this was a necessary foundation for citizenship: the capacity to serve on juries was equated with the capacity to vote and to be a member of the representative political institutions which Wentworth predicted would eventually be granted to the colony.[113] Between 1819 and 1827, these 'Emancipists' presented their case as a demand for the rights of Englishmen. The Emancipist Petition of 1819 argued that the Criminal Court in the colony was 'in its formation and proceedings contrary to all our habits, feelings and opinions as Englishmen' because it lacked trial by jury. They argued that the existing English legal and political model should be extended to New South Wales, because it was a British colony composed largely of British people.[114] Nevertheless, the 1823 New South Wales Act (or 'Third Charter of Justice', as it was known) was intended to bring New South Wales society under the rule of English Common Law, but the Legislative Council could exclude those provisions that were deemed inappropriate to the colony. The Act created a Supreme Court and allowed trial by jury in civil cases conducted in the Quarter Sessions (only), where both parties requested it. However, it did not allow ex-convicts to sit on juries. Between 1825 and 1827 Wentworth and Wardell, now editors of the new newspaper, *The Australian*, continued to argue for 'the imprescriptible Rights of Englishmen, Trial by Jury, and Taxation by Representation'. They said that to extend trial by jury throughout the colonial legal system, beyond the limitations of the 1823 Act

> would be avowedly necessary to revive those English feelings and predilections

---

[111] Memoranda by Darling on the proceedings and Address voted by a public meeting, forwarded to Horton, 4 Feb. 1827, PRO CO323/149.

[112] See also Brian H. Fletcher, *Ralph Darling: a governor maligned* (Melbourne, 1984). *cf.* A.G.L. Shaw, *Heroes and Villains in History: Darling and Bourke in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1966).

[113] W.C. Wentworth, *A Statistical, Historical and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependent Settlements in Van Diemen's Land* (Sydney, 1978 [1819]); *HRA* series 4, i. 49-50.

[114] *HRA* series 1, x. 56-7. See also Miles Taylor, 'The Freeborn Englishman and the British Empire, c.1830-1860' (paper given at the Imperial History Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, London, March 1987).

> which a thirty-nine years deprivation of it must, according to the opinion of this party, have so nearly extinguished ... [and if the free institutions of England are not granted,] men whom, though English by descent, may become Anti-British in heart by force of a system essentially anti-British in its principles and heart.[115]

The language of the 'rights of Englishmen' was problematic for the Emancipists because it depended on the notion that New South Wales was sufficiently similar to England to be able to claim that the English model should be extended to New South Wales. Governor Darling specifically repudiated this argument in 1829, when he said that the English model had little relevance to this 'anomalous society', and that it was 'absurd to talk of the inherent and "imprescriptive rights of Englishmen" [because] these rights [had] been forfeited by the Emancipist and Prison population'.[116] Even free-settlers had voluntarily relinquished their English rights by choosing to live in a prison society, which had never guaranteed that it would reproduce English institutions or liberties.[117] He was unequivocal that

> altho' this is an English colony, there is no similarity whatsoever in its composition to that of England. ... [Therefore, the] Free Institutions of Great Britain [were] extremely inapplicable to the Inhabitants of New South Wales, though born in England.[118]

The 'Exclusives', who represented the free settler group that claimed elite status in New South Wales, agreed with Darling that ex-convicts should not be able to claim British citizenship or political rights, because their criminal backgrounds had resulted in the forfeiture of their English liberties. In addition, those that had served their sentences could provide no guarantees that they were morally reformed. For example, James Macarthur (the large free-born landowner) argued that New South Wales was dramatically different from England. While property qualifications could be relied upon as a measure of civic virtue in England, many Emancipists in New South Wales could easily satisfy the property qualifications despite the demonstrable moral taint of their convict pasts.[119] He argued that the necessary criteria for

---

[115] *HRA* series 1, viii. 50.

[116] Memoranda by Darling on the Proceedings and Address voted by a Public Meeting, forwarded to Horton, 4 Feb.1827, PRO CO323/149. The 1829 Jury Act and a subsequent amendment gave Emancipists and expirees the right to sit on civil juries, but the right of convicts and ex-convicts to choose whether they were tried by civil or military juries was withheld until 1833.

[117] Memoranda by Darling on the Proceedings and Address voted by a Public Meeting, forwarded to Horton, 4 Feb.1827, PRO CO323/149.

[118] Darling to R.W. Hay, 9 Feb. 1827, Private Correspondence, PRO CO323/149.

[119] James Macarthur, *New South Wales: its present state and future prospects* (London,

political participation involved evidence of moral reformation, of character, which he identified as 'a retiring disposition, anxious to avoid the public gaze - a feeling which arises from virtuous shame for past transactions'.[120] He could only accept ex-convicts being granted citizenship rights if they showed the 'self-effacement' that would demonstrate that they had attained that degree of religion and morality which would ensure that the society would not be tainted. However, he could see no evidence of this self-effacement, and thought it was unlikely in the future.[121] Interestingly, Macarthur cited de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* as evidence that this view accorded with British political theory:

> He who is invested with decision of political matters, is in truth the master of society. But the institution of the jury places the people, or at least a Class of the people, in the judgment seat. This institution in fact, therefore, places the direction of society in the hands of the people, or of the class from which the juries are taken.[122]

What is important here was that the debate on British identity as it related to citizenship in New South Wales focused on the issue of whether the New South Wales was sufficiently English to make it safe to apply the English model, and whether its colonists could ever be expected to develop the capacity for citizenship.

The arrival of Richard Bourke as the new Governor in 1832, and the changing political context in England brought a new dimension to this debate. Bourke was a representative of the British State, but he was did not see the Empire in narrowly English terms. As far as he was concerned New South Wales was unequivocally British, but was decidedly not English. For him it was quite clear that a rigid English model was inappropriate in New South Wales, just as it was inappropriate in Ireland. Furthermore, his particular Liberal views on citizenship made it possible for him to present a model of British citizenship that did not require conformity to English rules and standards. In addition, the adaptation of the British model to suit local conditions did nothing to undermine its Britishness, because this was a flexible model. It was more important that Government decisions should reflect the views of a majority of the

---

1837), 106-7.

[120] *Ibid.*

[121] *Ibid.*, 106-7, 59.

[122] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: 1969 [1835]), 729. Cited in Macarthur, *New South Wales*, 111.

people.[123] Thus it was necessary to work towards the full British liberty in settlement colonies, but to adapt that British model to local conditions. Therefore, while Bourke agreed that British citizenship was based on moral capacity, he argued that this was capable of development among ex-convicts.

The distinction between Englishness and Britishness became clearer during the 1830s, in part because of Bourke himself. He was British by virtue of his status as a representative of the British State, but it was noted from the beginning of his term that he was Irish as well, and that many of his ideas and proposals reflected his Irish experience. The contemporary assumption was that his Irish background predisposed him to the support of Catholicism and of the Emancipists, since about ninety per cent of the Irish-born, who formed approximately twenty-five per cent of the colony's total population in the 1830s, had been transported.[124] This interpretation was particularly relevant to the way Bourke's views on education, religion, and trial by jury were received by the Exclusives, where Bourke's Irishness became an important issue in the debate on education in particular.[125] In fact, in 1836 the *Sydney Herald* complained that Bourke fostered an 'O'Connell Tail faction' in New South Wales, and said it hoped for the downfall of Bourke and anyone who was his 'com-*pat*-riot'.[126] Confusion there might be about Bourke's view of O'Connell, but there was no confusion about whether Bourke was English or Irish, or that this mattered.

It was these debates on education and the religious elements of citizenship that outlined the notion that citizenship, and the structures of colonial society and politics in general, could

---

[123] Bourke to Lord Stanley, 25 Dec. 1833, *HRA* series 1, 17, 302-7.

[124] James Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales 1788 to 1860* (Sydney, 1974), 226.

[125] See articles in the *Sydney Gazette* on Bourke's education proposals, before and after the change of editor: 2,16 June 1836 and 1 Sept. 1836. The *Sydney Herald* was consistently opposed to Bourke (and referred to him as a 'Whig', used as a term of abuse); The *Australian* and the *Sydney Monitor* generally supported Bourke, as did the *Sydney Gazette* until 1836 when it changed editor. Beforehand, the *Gazette* had generally supported every Governor regardless of views.

[126] *Sydney Herald*, 21 Jan. 1836. This disparaging recognition of the Bourke family's Irishness was important in female 'society' as well. For example, Fanny Macleay (daughter of Alexander Macleay), somewhat cattily commented that Anne (Bourke's daughter and later married to Edward Deas Thomson), was 'a stout plain, common looking person quite *Irish* but a most admirable songster.' Fanny Macleay to W.S. Macleay (typescript copy), 8 Jan. 1832, Fanny Macleay letters in possession of Mrs H. Imrie Swainston, London, cited in Steven G. Foster, 'Edward Deas Thomson and New South Wales' (PhD, New England, 1975), 99.

be British without harmonising with a narrowly English model. In the process Bourke found himself in a pitched battle with the Anglican Bishop Broughton, whose approach to the British character of New South Wales was more specifically English. Bishop Broughton argued in 1833 that New South Wales was an English colony. This meant that Australian society had to conform to an English model which involved an Anglican state. 'Should the state be severed from the church as some colonists urged', then, said Broughton as he lurched over his pulpit, 'Flee the colony! A society made up of persons wholly devoid of religion could not subsist!'[127] He argued that the Anglican Church had the right to control education and had a duty to provide religious guidance for the nation. Conversely, Bourke and Roger Therry (the first official Catholic appointment made in the colony after Catholic Emancipation) argued that the Anglican Church was not, and should not be Established in a British colony which was religiously plural; that the state itself and its citizens should not be pushed into a narrow denominational mould.[128] Trying to reproduce rigidly English institutions among a non-English population was as dangerous in New South Wales as it had been in Ireland, because such a large proportion of its populace was neither English nor Anglican. 'The inclination of the colonists, which keeps pace with the Spirit of the Age, is decidedly averse to such an Institution', and therefore Bourke concluded that 'the interests of Religion would be prejudiced by [the Anglican Church's] Establishment'.[129]

Despite Broughton's opposition, by 1836 Bourke had managed to push a bill through the Legislative Council that provided funding for all the major Christian denominations, in proportion to the magnitude of their attending populations. He also proposed the adoption of an inter-denominational state education system, based on the Irish National Schools system, and which he argued would 'alleviate religious and national conflicts ... soften social discontents ... and eradicate moral vices.'[130] The fact that it was based on an Irish system and proposed by an Irish governor immediately attracted the criticism that Bourke was trying to rebuild New South

---

[127] Bishop William Grant Broughton, *Religion, Essential to the Security and Happiness of Nations* (Sydney, 1834), 3-5.

[128] Bourke to Lord Stanley, 30 Sept. 1833, no.76, *HRA* series 1, xvii. 224-33.

[129] *Ibid.*, 227.

[130] Bourke to Dick Bourke jnr, 28 July 1836, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/9. See also Roger Therry, *An Explanation of the Plan of the Irish National Schools* (Sydney, 1836).

Wales in an Irish rather than an English likeness. The *Sydney Herald* warned that Bourke's scheme would educate the children of 'all the profligate vagabonds, freed and fettered', and would therefore give an ascendancy to the children of the present race of transported Irish papists, at the expense of the Protestant landholders of this country.[131] Even more worrying, this education scheme made it clear that the Governor was promoting a notion of citizenship in which political capacity could be developed, and was not automatic, hereditary, or necessarily confined to the colonial elite.

In contrast, Bourke saw both New South Wales and Ireland as part of a broadly British world. Both the Irish system and Bourke's scheme for New South Wales schools were based on the notion that moral improvement could be achieved through rational means, and on the belief that it was possible to teach a core body of Christian truth in schools without linking it to a particular denomination. Bourke also linked the extension of representative institutions with both the improvement of the ex-convict population and with the suppression of an emerging illegitimate aristocracy. He told the Legislative Council in 1832 that the duty and privilege of serving as a juror would foster a sense of civic responsibility in the community, and implied that this could be encouraged in ex-convicts as well as settlers.[132] When he tried to legislate for trial by jury throughout the legal system, he argued that trial by jury would foster the qualities necessary for citizenship throughout the community.[133] Bourke argued that it was potentially possible for all inhabitants to develop the moral and rational characteristics necessary for active citizenship - whether convict or settler, Anglican, Dissenter or Catholic, English, Irish or Australian-born. He argued that 'Education is the business of the state', and that the state had a legitimate role in promoting moral reformation through a range of mechanisms, which would eventually produce 'good subjects and good citizens'.[134]

These debates are historically important because they point up the growing importance

---

[131] *Sydney Herald*, 13 Oct. 1836, also 4 July, 1 Aug. 1836.

[132] 1831-37. *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1847), 1832.

[133] Minute placed before the Executive Council by the Governor, Executive Council of New South Wales, Minutes, 3 Jan. 1832, PRO CO204/5.

[134] Richard Bourke to Dick Bourke (jnr), 7 Nov. 1835, Bourke papers, ML ms A1733.

of the debate between different versions of the British tradition in the colony. In this debate Bishop Broughton's narrowly English version of identity, which entailed an exclusive Protestant notion of citizenship and an Established Anglican Church, was in direct competition with Bourke's broader version of British identity, which could expand to include Irish, Scottish, and English inhabitants, to all Christian denominations including Catholics, and even to ex-convicts.[135] By the end of the 1830s the notion of New South Wales as a British colony was well established, and it was widely accepted that this form of British identity meant that the colony could negotiate on its future with the British State.

In addition to encouraging ex-convict morality, Bourke argued that the Exclusives were morally suspect too, because they were being corrupted by the system of assignment (in which convicts were assigned to free settlers as labourers), and that they were a potentially an illegitimate aristocracy. Therefore, one of the major themes of his governorship was the attempt to undermine the 'Exclusive' and 'Official Tory' dominance of the Legislative Council and Magistracy, and to prevent them from retaining their strangle-hold on power.[136] This fitted well with the British theory of checks and balances, and he was willing to draw Wentworth and the other Emancipist leaders into the colony's legal and political institutions in order to ensure that these institutions could not be dominated by any one interest group.[137] Allowing any interest to develop or maintain a stranglehold on power as a group would, in his view, create an Irish-style illegitimate aristocracy which could not hope to maintain virtuous and consensual leadership in the long term.[138] He spent the whole of his governorship trying to break the influence of the exclusives in the twenty person Legislative Council (which included the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice, Anglican Archdeacon, Colonial Secretary, Attorney-

---

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] S.G. Foster, 'A piece of sharp practice? Governor Bourke and the office of colonial secretary in New South Wales', *AHS* 16:64 (April 1975), 405-8.

[137] Bourke to Lord Stanley, 25 Dec. 1833, *HRA* series 1, xvii. 304. See also Bourke's comment on his reasons for appointing W.C. Wentworth to the magistracy. Bourke to Dick Bourke jnr, 11 Mar. 1835, Bourke papers, ML ms A1733.

[138] Bourke thought this developed during the administration of Governor Darling, when the 'Emigrant Party' had benefited disproportionately from the assignment of land and convicts, and had wallowed in favours granted by the government as a reward for their support. This situation was reminiscent of 'jobbery' in Limerick, which the Liberals had so strenuously opposed. Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 Mar. 1834, Bourke papers, ML ms A1732.

General, Solicitor-General, Surveyor-General, Auditor of Accounts, nine country gentlemen and three merchants). Since Governor Darling had nominated the list of people to be included and had appointed many of the people to those official positions, the Legislative Council that Bourke inherited was firmly in the hands of the Exclusives who were trying to establish themselves as an English-style elite. The Legislative Council was therefore rarely supportive of Bourke's plans, and in fact Bourke believed that there was a 'Cabal amongst the Civil Servants against my government, who have Mr M'Leay, the first in rank and power [Colonial Secretary], as their leader and model.'[139] Bourke's gradual success in appointing like-minded men to the important legal positions reduced the hostile proportion of the Council, but this was a long process, since it could only be done as each position was vacated. Bourke appointed the Irishmen John Hubert Plunkett as Attorney-General and Roger Therry as Commissioner of the Court of Requests (who was the first Catholic to be appointed to an official post in the colony after 1829 when the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed).[140] In 1836-7 Bourke eventually succeeded in procuring the appointment of his son-in-law Edward Deas Thomson as a replacement for the Colonial Secretary Alexander Macleay.[141] Bourke also used his right to hire and fire magistrates to attempt to weaken the 'Exclusive' power within the magistracy and to control its operation as a whole.[142] This produced some of the most vitriolic opposition that Bourke experienced, especially from Campbell Drummond Riddell, and which eventually led to his resignation.[143] Thus extending representative institutions was only the most far-reaching of

---

[139] Bourke to Sir John Deas Thomson, 14 June 1836, Deas Thomson papers, ML ms A1531.

[140] Plunkett, in particular, was instrumental in Bourke's successful domination of the Legislative Council on the jury issue. John N. Molony, *An Architect of Freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales, 1832-1869* (Canberra, 1973), 17-19, 106-8; Edward Deas Thomson to Dick Bourke jnr, 17 June 1836, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/6.

[141] On Bourke's complaints about the opposition of Alexander Macleay, see Dick to James Stephen (draft), 23 June 1835, Bourke papers: state Library of New South Wales, ML ms 403/6 and ms A1739, 22 Aug. 1835; [Alexander Macleay], *Correspondence with His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B. and Other Documents Relative to the Removal of Alexander M'Leay, Esq. from the Office of Colonial Secretary of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1838). See also Foster, 'A piece of sharp practice?', and Foster, 'Edward Deas Thomson', 108-55.

[142] Michael Roe, *The Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia* (Melbourne, 1965), 25-7 and Neal, *Rule of Law*, 139-40.

[143] For Riddell's views see his correspondence with Hay (to whom he was related): C.D. Riddell to R.W. Hay 18 Sept. 1832, PRO CO323/169; 10 Feb. and 18 Aug. 1833, CO323/171; 24 March 1835 CO323/175, all marked 'Private'. Roger Therry's anonymous pamphlet, *Observations on the 'Hole and Corner Petition'* by an Unpaid Magistrate (Sydney, 1834); For anti-Bourke criticism see *Sydney Herald* 16, 19, 26 and 30 Nov. 1835, and 14 Dec. 1835 on Bourke's resignation, see Bourke to Lord Glenelg, 30 Jan. 1837, no.8 *HRA* series 1, xix. 658ff.

a whole set of strategies aimed at preventing the colony from being controlled by 'an oppressive and rapacious oligarchy' or an illegitimate imposed aristocracy.[144]

In early nineteenth-century colonial politics, both major local groupings were forced to respond to any Governor's ideas and initiatives.[145] Neither of the major groups were in full agreement with Bourke, especially on the questions of transportation and the assignment system. However, in the course of the 1830s, both the Emancipists and the Exclusives began to rely more heavily on a more flexible British model than the one they had assumed in the 1820s. Bourke actively encouraged a more flexible British model because of his own outlook, and colonists quickly recognised that this flexibility would help them negotiate with the representatives of the British State (including the Governor) about the future shape of New South Wales. This does not mean that they began to differentiate clearly between 'English' and 'British' languages immediately; this process was gradual and uneven. Nor was a rigid definition of what political rights flowed from Britishness, as opposed to Englishness. On the contrary, the main reason the British model was attractive was that it was elastic, and could therefore be moulded to suit changing circumstances and a range of different agendas.

Emancipists in New South Wales in particular did take Bourke's lead during the 1830s, when they began to argue for the extension of trial by jury and representative institutions as part of the extension of a British model. For example, Edward Eager put the argument that if British institutions could be extended to Jamaica, which was as unlike England as it was possible to be (being a slave-owning society with a very small community of white settlers), then there was no reason to deny them to New South Wales.

> every Island in the West Indies, the whole population of the greater part of which does not in most instances amount to the one tenth or the one twentieth of the population of this colony, has each its House of Assembling [sic.], Legislative

---

J.B. Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy: New South Wales 1848-1884* (Sydney, 1988), 171; Alan Atkinson, 'The Parliament in the Jerusalem warehouse', *Push From the Bush: a bulletin of Social History* 12 (June 1982), 76-104; See also Hazel King, *Richard Bourke* (Melbourne, 1971), 154, 238-40.

[144] 1837 (518) xix. [Molesworth Report] *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, with Minutes of Evidence*, 31ff., 70ff., 75, 166.

[145] John Hirst makes the point that emigrants did not hold authority as a group, but as individual clients of the Governor, which prevented the formation of an explicit 'ruling class' and instead gave Governors inordinate power. Even so, this power was limited by the fact that colonists could, and did, lobby the Colonial Office directly on any decision which they disapproved. J.B. Hirst, *Convict Society and its Enemies* (Sydney, 1983), 169-72.

> Council and Governor or Deputy Governor - what just reason can exist for denying to us the same invaluable, and I would say rightful privilege. ... It is true we have another description of people, namely prisoners, it is equally true, that the immense majority of the population of every island in the West Indies is composed of equally corrupt and far more dangerous individuals, slaves, and if the one should be considered as a sufficient reason, why the free British Colonists of New South Wales should be denied the benefits of the British constitution, so ought it to have been as sufficient to have denied it to the British Planter in the West Indies ... until some very sufficient reason is produced to justify the depriving the free British Inhabitants of New South Wales of their Birthright ... that which is enjoyed by every petty island in the West Indies - I trust the British Legislature will be influenced by the Justice as well as the policy of our Claims, to grant us such a form of Government.[146]

Even a slave-owning and therefore corrupt society like Jamaica could claim British liberty, despite the fact that they did not match up to English moral standards. And so, according to this argument, New South Wales did not have to prove that they reflected English social and political conditions in order to claim British liberty. The benefits of the Constitution were theirs to claim because they were part of the British Empire. Thus even the convicts in New South Wales could ask for the protection of the British Constitution. For example, a writer using the pen-name of 'A Settler' argued in 1839 that

> The convicts are Britons, knowing their rights and jealous of them; - they are prunings from the tree of liberty, wild and diseased shoots certainly, but they retain the character of the original stock ... The men from first to last never lose sight of the rights that they do retain; and the constant practice of obtaining indulgence from the master for good conduct whilst in his service and of obtaining temporary and permanent remission of their punishment from the Government are so well established, that in effects they amount to rights also.[147]

Though the Emancipists were in general much more supportive of Bourke than the Exclusives, his Liberalism on the issue of transportation also caused them difficulties. In economic terms they needed convict labour, they were at pains to avoid condemning transportation, and they usually supported the assignment system over chain gangs and penitentiaries.[148] Emancipists and ex-convicts, too, had problems with Bourke's opposition to transportation, and his insistence on drawing parallels between transportation and slavery, and his increasing condemnation of the assignment system and transportation itself, which went

---

[146] Edward Eager to Commissioner Bigge in J. Ritchie, *The Evidence of the Bigge Reports: New South Wales Under Governor Macquarie* (Melbourne, 1971), ii. 10-11, n.97.

[147] 'A Settler', published as a series of extracts in the *Sydney Herald*, 16 Jan., 4 and 13 March, 8 April 1839.

[148] N.G. Butlin, *Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia 1810-1850* (Cambridge, 1994), 122-6.

well beyond the condemnation of immoral individual convicts.[149] Emancipists wanted to claim that the society as a whole, including convicts, was capable of morality, and this meant that even if the convicts were morally depraved themselves, they had to argue that they could be reformed in the first generation and definitely by the second. Ironically, this opposition to Bourke's stance on transportation actually intensified the Emancipist acceptance of his broad British model, because it allowed them to criticise specific attitudes and policies, without undermining their claim to British rights.

The 1832 Parliamentary Reform Act, which widened the English franchise, left the Exclusives in an uncomfortable position. If they argued that New South Wales was insufficiently English to warrant free political institutions, they would have to forego the extension of representative political institutions (such as an elective Legislative Council), which would protect their own power within the colony against that of the Governor and Colonial Office. On the other hand, if they argued that the colony as a whole should be harmonised with the English system, then the Emancipists would gain the vote. A more loosely defined British model was attractive to them, because they hoped it would allow them to continue claiming British liberties for themselves, while denying them to the ex-convict population.[150]

Bourke's 1833 recommendation for a one-third elective Legislative Council was, he thought, a first taste of political responsibility for this emerging colonial elite. This would develop into a political settlement in New South Wales that was similar to that provided in England by the 1832 Reform Act, when the elite had sufficiently developed their sense of moral duty toward the rest of the community, and the remainder of the inhabitants had developed their moral capacity and 'intelligence' sufficient for full citizenship.[151] As Bourke argued,

> a longer continuance of estrangement from [British free institutions] will destroy all desire for them, and render these people fit subjects for a Turkish Government.[152]

---

[149] Richard Bourke to Lord Howick, 17 July 1838, Grey papers, University of Durham; see also Bourke to Lord John Russell (memo), 1838, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/6.

[150] This was despite the advice of James Stephen at the Colonial Office as early as 1824, that persons who had borne the whole punishment for their crimes, or had received pardons, could not be legally regarded as a distinct or separate class of society. 1837 (518) xix. *Evidence to the Select Committee on Transportation*, (James Stephen's evidence) 85-6.

[151] Bourke to Lord Stanley, 25 Dec. 1833, *HRA* series 1, xvii. 304.

[152] Bourke to Spring Rice, 23 Mar. 1832, Bourke papers, ML ms 403/9.

By 1842, when the Colonial Office agreed to a Legislative Council in which two-thirds of the representatives were elected, Bourke thought that the measure was too little, too late; a much greater proportion of elected representatives was now necessary to satisfy the people that their government was responsive.[153]

Unfortunately, Bourke's Liberal ideology made it difficult for the Exclusives to support with him, because he was arguing that all the inhabitants of New South Wales could aspire to British rights. In contrast, the Exclusives sought to draw a distinction between their own claims to citizenship, political participation, and elite status in the colony, and those of the Emancipists.[154] For this reason, they increasingly aligned themselves with the English Tories, who opposed changes to the franchise and who they perceived to be taking a hard-line view of prison and convict discipline. Moreover, although Bourke's measures to regularise flogging, discipline in chain gangs, and secondary punishment on Norfolk Island, systematically resulted in increased severity, the Exclusive press consistently accused him of leniency.[155] Furthermore, they argued that convicts were irretrievably immoral and that the penal system did nothing to rehabilitate them; therefore, the abolition of that system would do nothing to wash away the immorality of existing convicts and ex-convicts.[156]

During the 1830s, the fundamental debates over citizenship in New South Wales changed from the issue of whether ex-convicts should be granted civil and political rights, to when and how this could be achieved. By the end of the 1830s both Exclusives and Emancipists had adopted the basic Liberal proposition put forward by Bourke, that the state could encourage the development of the moral characteristics that were necessary for good citizenship through a whole range of social, economic, political, and not least religious

---

[153] Bourke had recommended this solution in 1835. Bourke to Glenelg, 26 Dec. 1835, *HRA* I, xvii. 306. For 1842 views, see Bourke to Spring Rice, 7 July 1842, Bourke papers, ML ms A1737.

[154] G.C. Bolton, 'The idea of a colonial gentry' *AHS* 13:51 (1972), 319-39; and Ged Martin, *The Bunyip Aristocracy* (Sydney, 1986).

[155] *Herald*, 12 Mar., 29 April, 13 May 1833; Petitions received 22 Aug. 1833, *Votes and Proceedings of the New South Wales Legislative Council* (Sydney, 1847).

[156] James Macarthur's speech in *Report on the Proceedings of the General Meeting of the Supporters of the petitions to His Majesty and the House of Commons ... held 30 May 1836* (Sydney, 1836), 11; Macarthur, *New South Wales*, 106-7, 59.

institutions. This harmonised with Macarthur's basic belief in the necessity for moral reformation. James Macarthur's underlying concern with moral reformation provided the basis for a friendly relationship with Richard Bourke, and in the decades after Bourke departed Macarthur increasingly adopted the core elements of Bourke's outlook, including Bourke's views on education.[157] In addition, though Macarthur wished to see ex-convicts permanently excluded from political power in 1836, he recognised that this was a political impossibility given the agreement between Bourke and the British Whig administrations. In these circumstances, even he was willing to consider the prospect of ex-convicts having their political rights gradually restored to them, provided they were required to prove their moral reformation first.[158] Moreover, there was little room for colonial negotiation within the British State using the Tory version of Britishness, because the latter was amenable to colonial subjects claiming the rights of 'free-born Englishmen'.[159] There were other more pragmatic reasons for them to accept Bourke's British model by the end of the 1830s. By the end of Bourke's governorship, it had become clear that the Exclusives had lost the battle to limit the participation of ex-convicts in the legal system. As Macarthur admitted in 1850, the Exclusive campaign against trial by jury and popular political institutions in the 1830s had been fuelled by the fear of being swamped by an 'Emancipist ascendancy', which would overturn their own claims to elite status.[160] These problems were largely resolved by the abolition of Transportation after Bourke's departure, and by the escalation of free emigration during the 1830s, which removed the threat of ex-convict political and economic domination and therefore allowed people like Macarthur to move closer to Bourke's Liberal position.[161] As a result, by 1841 Macarthur was ready to concede that

> we are ripe for representative institutions, which we are all anxious for. He would say that he was quite ready, (forgetting the past) to come forward and meet any

---

[157] Macarthur to William Jones, 26 April 1836, ML ms A357.

[158] Macarthur, *New South Wales*, 57-58, 112, 116-120. See also Alan Atkinson, 'The Political Life of James Macarthur' (PhD, Australian National University, 1976), 185-7.

[159] Macarthur to William Jones, 26 April 1836, ML ms A357. John Ward argues that 'Whig' and 'Tory' had different meanings in New South Wales and England; New South Wales 'Tories' (like James Macarthur) and 'Whigs' like (W.C. Wentworth) both fitted within the range of English Whig-Liberalism, whereas English Tory ideology gained little ground in the colony. John Ward, *James Macarthur: colonial conservative 1798-1867* (Sydney, 1981), 245. See also Atkinson, *James Macarthur* (Melbourne, 1992) chs 3 and 8.

[160] M. Sturma, *Vice in a Vicious Society: crime and convicts in mid-nineteenth-century New South Wales* (Brisbane, 1983), 30.

[161] *Sydney Herald*, 26 Oct. 1840. See also Ward, *Macarthur*, 190.

> other portion of the public, to discuss the subject upon reasonable grounds ... He thought the time had arrived, when the long agitated emancipist question might be dropped ...[162]

It is even more telling that by the mid-1840s Bishop Broughton was also ready to acknowledge that Australian society could not be made to mirror English society, despite the end of Transportation which he had fought for, and that the English Anglican model would not work in Australia. He concluded that the Church of England in Australia must build itself into that society and perform a different role from that of the state Church in England. By the early 1850s he was committed to establishing a synod of Anglican patriarchates that spanned the British world. This would produce consultation between the Church of England and the autonomous 'provincial' Anglican Churches in Canada, New England, the West Indies, India, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.[163]

The Liberal model of British society was theoretically transportable throughout the Empire because of its very flexibility. However, it is hard to imagine such a model developing without the stimulus of the Union and, specifically, without the need to resolve the 'Irish problem'. As in Ireland, it is clear that the process of negotiating with Britain from a position of unequal power was an important and ongoing element in the kind of national identities that were possible in Australia. This need for an agreed framework within which colonial elites could negotiate with the British State explains why an elastic version of British identity drawn from Irish experience was more useful than a British identity that simply magnified Englishness. Thus when Sir Roger Therry spoke at the National Banquet in 1856, which was held to celebrate the granting of 'Responsible Government' to New South Wales, he told the gathering that

> at this national banquet - inaugurating our free institutions - we meet as free, prosperous, and united fellow-citizens as could be gathered together any where throughout the whole range of the British dominions.[164]

National identity is important in explaining how imperialism worked, even from the

---

[162] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 Feb. 1841.

[163] G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton 1788-1853. Colonial statesman and Ecclesiastic* (Melbourne, 1978), chs 12-13.

[164] Roger Therry's speech in Richard Thompson (ed.), *Report of the Proceedings at the National Banquet held at the Prince of Wales Theatre, Sydney ... 17 July 1856* (Sydney, 1856), 35-6.

metropolitan end. Nationalism is endemic to the modern interpretation of colonialism and the various oppositions to it, and nationalism has shaped the re-writing of twentieth-century history as well. This was a British empire, not an English one, but there were variations in the meaning of that identity. It continued to be a contested identity that was grounded in the relationship between elites and the British State on one hand, and between elites and the general population on the other.

By itself, this case study cannot be used to generalise about the nature of colonial interactions throughout the 'British world', but it can suggest different ways of thinking about the problem, and it can suggest some possibilities that need further research. 'The British Tradition' was not a single, uniform phenomenon that was received and adapted in a variety of imperial contexts: it contained a number of different sets of assumptions and ideas that were transmitted and received unevenly.

The development of national identities in new societies was not just a question of adopting a ready-formed British identity, but of choosing various elements from a variety of British traditions, combining them with new non-British elements, and making them serve different ends. This interpretation differs from the 'melting pot' explanation, which asserts that a number of different elements and cultural experiences melted down into a new but uniform cultural alloy. In fact the mix did not congeal once a self-conscious identity had been created; instead there was continuing negotiation between all the different elements in both 'old' and 'new' societies. As a result, the relationships between the various identities in colonial contexts was not always oppositional.[165] Nor did colonists who went into the Empire experience a 'transformation in ethnicity' in which their 'origins as Scots, Welsh, Irish, or English, were transformed and became subsumed under the overarching category of British'.[166] On the

---

[165] See, for example, O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*; Donald Akenson, *Small Differences* (London, Ontario, 1988); Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish in the New Communities* (Leicester, 1997); M.A.G. O Tuathaigh (ed.), *The Emigrant Experience* (Galway, 1991); David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: personal accounts of Irish migration to Australia* (Ithaca, New York, 1995). *cf.* Kerby Miller, with Bruce Boling and David N. Doyle, 'Emigrants and exiles: Irish cultures and Irish emigration to North America 1790-1922', *IHS* 22:86 (Sept. 1980), 97-125, who argue that nineteenth-century Irish-American nationalism which emerged among Irish emigrants was focused on an opposition to the English. Unfortunately, Miller has not discussed whether this was seen in different terms from British identity. In addition, America was of course not part of the Empire at that time.

[166] Kenneth Parker, 'Fertile land, romantic spaces, uncivilized peoples' in Schwartz, *The*

contrary, colonists did not abandon their Scots, Welsh, or Irish identities, but they often developed a sense of British identity as well. At times the former were subordinated to Britishness, never more so than when they found themselves in competition with indigenous peoples or new immigrants.[167] However, Britishness did not replace their original identities, nor was it necessarily opposed to them. Instead, Scots, Welsh, Irish and emerging colonial perspectives on Britishness were important elements in the continuing contests over the meaning of British and new national identities.

During the nineteenth century British identity in the setting of settlement colonies probably delayed the development of oppositional nationalisms, because it provided an effective basis for negotiation between the colonial elites and the British State. The process of negotiating with Britain from a position of unequal power was an important and ongoing element in the kind of national identities that were possible in Australia. Some groups presented Australian identity in opposition to British identity, but others constructed forms of national identity that were not opposed to continued membership of the British Empire.[168] This was one of the reasons that Australia was able to remain within the Empire with relatively few problems for such a long time, and to extract itself in the twentieth century gradually and without violence or revolution. Irish Catholic versions of Australian identity were different enough to provide debate and a source of creative friction, but were not sufficiently different to threaten the place of Australia within a British Empire, certainly until the First World War and, arguably, until well after.[169] This British model laid the basis for a society and a colonial

---

Expansion of England, 222.

[167] Hall, 'Imperial man', 130-170. See also, Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York and London, 1995), which is an interesting assessment of the interplay between Irish and 'colonising' identities, race, and class. Ignatiev argues that the Irish in America used their 'whiteness' to claim membership of the dominant group in the United states. They systematically downplayed differences between themselves as Irish and other Americans who had English or European (and Protestant) heritage, in order to assert their economic and social superiority over African-Americans, who had been slaves.

[168] See, for example, John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder (eds), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their nationalities, 1880-1914* (Sydney, 1988); See also Wilkes on the variety of 'Australian identities' in the first half of the century, not all of which led inexorably to the anti-English form of nationalism that was so important in the 1890s: G.A. Wilkes, *The Stockyard and the Croquet Lawn: literary evidence for Australia's cultural development* (Melbourne, 1981); and Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire: neo-classical culture in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Melbourne, 1986). *cf.* David Walker, *Dream and Disillusion: a search for Australian cultural identity* (Canberra, 1976).

[169] *cf.* O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, 6.

relationship that allowed Australia to find and maintain a place as a Dominion within the Empire, and then as an independent but allied nation within the Commonwealth, with relatively few problems. Australia was able to remain relatively stable within the Empire for so long precisely because this model provided a way of balancing Britishness with local needs, ideas and developing local identities. This possibility was in large part the result of the development of an elastic and non-English British identity that could be used as the framework for negotiations between 'periphery' and 'metropolis'.

Conclusions

Ideology, Identity and Writing History

This thesis has examined the way in which a particular group among the Irish elite adapted to the new conditions in the nineteenth century, how they were perceived by others, and what effect this had on their sense of national identity and their role in Nationalism. This research has shown that the way the elite defined itself shifted over time, and that some members of the elite attempted to adapt and to re-invent themselves as a legitimate Irish elite within a pluralist British State. Finally, this process of adaptation was linked with the process of imagining the Irish nation in the nineteenth century, and of widening the notion of British identity. This particular Irish Liberal approach to British identity turned out to be transportable, and became an important element in the development of identity beyond Irish shores.

The variation in religious and political ideology that can be found among the Irish elite between the 1798 Rebellion and the Famine, show that Protestantism and economic interests did not by themselves determine that elite's ideology or actions. This research also suggests a number of conclusions about Irish historiography, and in particular about the relationship between national identity and the writing of history. Chapter 6 showed that the concrete facts of elite performance during the Famine were important beyond their immediate impact. They were used by nationalists in the next generation to represent the Irish nation in a way that excluded the elite. Thus the old Irish Protestant Ascendancy has declined so far as to be practically non-existent in the modern Irish State as an identifiable social grouping with an associated ideology and sense of identity that had wider relevance. The memory and interpretation of the Famine and the elite's role in it, have continued to resonate in debates about Irish identity ever since, and indeed are often used as a symbol of the elite's more general role in Ireland. However, the notion that historians can understand how national identity was debated in Ireland over the last two centuries by examining popular debates only, is seriously flawed. Instead, the processes by which both the elite and 'the Irish people' were imagined were related to each other, and should be studied together. In turn, both were related to the way historians have represented the past. As MacDonagh argued, after 1800 there developed an 'Irish habit of historical thought', in which political issues carried a burden of historical remembrances, and which was related to the

development of Irish national identity.[1] One of the most important results of nineteenth-century Nationalism in Ireland was that it provided a new lens through which elite actions have been viewed, both at the time and by historians. This thesis has tried to add the perspective of the elite into this picture, and to show how this was related to nationalist perspectives.

The Colonial Model in Modern Irish Historiography

The Irish elite in this period cannot be satisfactorily explained either as a wholly native and legitimate elite, nor as a foreign colonising one. The fact that the elite tried for so long to maintain both Irish and British identities, against the odds, makes them a historically interesting group. Their attempts to resolve the problems of maintaining their role as leaders in Irish society using the tools of the British State, and the responses to those attempts, are not only important in understanding their own role in Irish History but are also important in understanding the motivations of those groups that ultimately rejected the elite's claims to Irishness. Therefore, this research on one set of Irish elite responses to the problems of leadership and identity after the Union, raises questions about how historians should interpret the general question of how Irish national identity changed during the nineteenth century. It also suggests that the colonial model of Irish history in this period is not as helpful as some historians have assumed.

Kevin O'Neill has argued that Ireland's colonial past involved three distinct phases of imperialism (which he identifies as the Norman feudal conquest, the Elizabethan colonial expansion, and the Victorian imperial realm). Despite these complications, however, he argues that this 'hardly removes the reality of experience for those who lived during any of these eras; nor the historian's responsibility for interpreting the complex affects of such experience on successive generations.'[2] The colonial model is associated with the widespread popular belief that circumstances in Ireland were in most respects the same as those in the colonies, and that Nationalism in both Irish and colonial contexts can be explained in much the same way.[3] This

---

1 Oliver MacDonagh, *States of Mind: a study in Anglo-Irish conflict* (London, 1983).

2 Kevin O'Neill, 'Revisionist milestone' in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History* (Dublin, 1994), 219, first published in *Irish Literary Supplement* (Fall 1989), 1-39.

3 For a recent example, see Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine, and emigration* (Oxford, 1995), who refers to 'Ireland's prolonged colonial experience

involves very loose understandings of 'imperialism', such as that put forward by Said: 'the interference of one State in the affairs of another region'.[4] However, Irish historians have frequently overlooked new research being done on elites and Nationalism in colonial situations, in favour of applying an unexamined colonial model to Irish History. This had led to a powerful, but largely ahistorical rhetoric.

Irish History at the popular level has been dominated by the assumption of a colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland.[5] In its most extreme form this popular view represents Irish history as the long and eventually successful struggle of an oppressed Irish people against a foreign aggressor. The British State is popularly believed to have acted through an elite of colonisers that were of English and Scottish ethnicity, and were therefore never truly Irish, from the time they arrived in Ireland right up until Independence in 1922. Literary critics, too, frequently place Irish literature within a wider post-colonial genre, because this gives them access to a theoretical framework that allows comparison with other subjugated peoples and emerging national literatures.[6] This approach has been attractive to historians of national identity because of its insistence on the importance of cultural issues and of subaltern groups.[7]

... [in which there was] a high degree of penetration from the world power that came not only to dominate the legal, political, and economic institutions of the society but to successfully replace the native language with its own in most of the population.' Scally continues that 'Culminating in the Act of Union, this near erasure of the country's civic identity has certainly been near the heart of nationalist sentiment ever since.' 232.

[4] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993). See also Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* trans. Constance Farrington (Harmondsworth, 1967 [1961]) and Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* trans. Howard Greenfield (London, 1974). The analysis in this chapter refers to the problems in extending the colonial model throughout the nineteenth century, and does not assess the use of the term in the seventeenth-century Irish context which is more appropriate.

[5] and between England and Ireland before 1707.

[6] For example, see David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: colonialism, nationalism and culture* (Manchester, 1988); Seamus Deane, 'Imperialism/Nationalism' in F. Lentricchia and T. McLaughlin (eds), *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago, 1995, 2nd ed.), 354-68; Lloyd, *Anomalous States*; Luke Gibbons, 'Race against Time: racial discourse and Irish History' in his *Transformations in Irish Culture* (Cork, 1996), 149-163, first published in *The Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1981).

[7] For example, see Colin Graham, '"Liminal Spaces": post-colonial theories and Irish culture', *Irish Review* 19 (1994); David Lloyd, *Anomalous States*; Terry Eagleton, Frederic Jameson, and Edward W. Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature* (Minneapolis, 1990). These scholars draw upon post-colonial and subaltern studies texts such as Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994) and his *Nation and Narration* (New York, 1990); Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (London, 1989); and Ranajit Guha (ed.),

The overwhelming advantage of colonial and post-colonial analysis is that it has given theoretical backing to the assumptions held by many Irish people, and it has favoured a nation-based approach to Irish History. It has reinforced the notion that Irish Nationalism developed as a reaction against imperial aggression, and that the nation was only able to emerge by throwing off the shackles of colonial domination. There is no immutable and crude link between Nation-based histories of Ireland and the use of the colonial model, but the colonial model is frequently implicit in nation-based approaches. It adds rhetorical and moral power to nation-based approaches, by linking Irish History with the history of other nations which suffered trauma as a result of British colonisation, and which emerged as modern Nation-States in the twentieth century by throwing off colonial shackles.[8]

The Irish debate on Revisionism over the last two decades has also encouraged an upsurge of interest in colonial parallels, as a way of resisting the tendency for Irish history to be absorbed into what Irish historians considered to be an English-dominated 'British History'. Opponents of Revisionism have argued that historians must recognise that the British State's involvement in Ireland was one of the main sources of trauma over the last eight hundred years.[9] They have suggested that recognition of this colonial relationship could counter the tendency of 'British Isles' or European models to underplay the affects of an unequal power relationship.[10] Ireland could not be treated historically as an extension of Britain because it was subject to different formative influences, the most important of which was its experience of

---

Subaltern Studies: writings on South Asian history and society 1 (Delhi, 1982).

[8] For example, James S. Donnelly jnr's treatment of millenarianism in Ireland as a reaction against British imperial domination. 'Pastorini and Captain Rock: millenarianism and sectarianism in the Rockite Movement of 1821-4' in Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly jnr (eds), *Irish Peasants: violence and political unrest 1780-1914* (Madison, Wisc., 1983), 102-39, esp. 104.

[9] See exchanges between Steven Ellis, Nicholas Canny, and Brendan Bradshaw in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History: the debate on historical revisionism 1938-1994* (Dublin, 1994); The most cogent defenders of colonial analysis in the early modern period are Nicholas Canny and Aidan Clarke. Nicholas Canny, 'The attempted anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: an exemplar of "British History"' in Ronald G. Asch (ed.), *Three Nations - a common history? England, Scotland, Ireland and British history c.1600-1920* (Bochum, 1993), 49-82 and Nicholas Canny, 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature, 1580-1750', *Past and Present* 95 (May 1982), 91-116; Aidan Clarke, 'Colonial identity in early seventeenth-century Ireland' in T.W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence* (Belfast, 1978), 57-71.

[10] Kevin Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry? Catholic middlemen in eighteenth-century Ireland' in Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity 1760-1830* (Cork, 1996), 3-56, esp. 56.

interference and subjugation by a foreign state. The upsurge in social and cultural history, and history from below, has also been seen as a way of redressing the earlier focus on the elite and on Ireland from the perspective English high political history.[11] The underlying assumption is that a nation-based history of the nineteenth century can be told largely without the elite, because it is necessarily popular history. Therefore, one of the most difficult problems of nation-based histories of Ireland is the thorny question of how to deal with those portions of the population, like the elite, who were born and spent their lives in Ireland, but who were later excluded from the modern nation-state as a group. Because the colonial model is usually used by Irish historians to justify a popular approach, there is scant attention paid to this fundamental issue.

Colonial and post-colonial scholars from Fanon to Said have relied upon the following progression within each colonial societies: an indigenous society is colonised, this produces resistance and the resurgence of indigenous ethnic culture, which in turn produce sdecolonisation or the overthrow of colonial rule, and this results in a modern nation.[12] Thus many Irish historians use the colonial model to explain that the Irish 'colonised' used Nationalism to throw off colonial shackles, created a modern nation-state, and then excluded the colonisers from that State. Some corollaries are then drawn, regarding the elite in Ireland specifically. These are, that the elite were a group whose composition remained relatively stable, that their foreign ethnicity was demarcated by their English and Scottish origins and by their Protestantism; and that this ethnicity made them act as the local face of the British imperial rule in Ireland. It has also been assumed that they were excluded from Irish national identity because of their ethnicity and consequent collaboration with the British State.

There are a number of important problems in the way this loose colonial model has been applied to Ireland. First, the fundamentals upon which is it based are not self-evident even in colonial contexts, much less within Ireland. On the contrary, the unquestioned assumptions Irish historians have had about colonial elite responses to Nationalism are the subject of ongoing debate among historians of colonialism. Research on colonial elites in settlement

---

[11] M.A.G. O Tuathaigh, 'Irish historical "Revisionism": state of the art or ideological project?' in Brady, *Interpreting Irish History*, 306-26, esp.317-18.

[12] Graham, 'Liminal Spaces', 30.

societies does not support the conclusion that British origins among colonial elites invariably produced collaboration. Nor does it support the view that British ethnicity always produced exclusion from Nationalism. Similarly, research on indigenous elites in Africa and Asia does not support the notion that non-British ethnic origins invariably resulted in elites that resisted colonial rule, or that these indigenous elites inevitably became nationalist.[13] Instead, recent research suggests that both settler and indigenous elites in colonial societies adopted the strategies that they believed would best preserve their leadership in those societies. These strategies ranged from collaboration to resistance. Moreover, in the process of forming such strategies, colonial elites had to re-invent themselves as historical circumstances changed, in order to protect their legitimate leadership. The process of imagining a nation was closely linked with the processes by which the constituent groups were re-imagined, or re-imagined themselves, in new circumstances. Thus the re-shaping of the relationships and political balance between the various social, economic, and cultural groups in any colonial society, may have been as important as ethnicity in determining whether elites would be included or excluded in the emerging nation.[14]

Furthermore, describing all the interactions between England and Ireland as colonial is inadequate and does not help historians distinguish between the changing forms and consequences of this relationship. The existence of a consistently unequal power relationship over some eight centuries, and the involvement of the British State in internal Irish affairs in the

---

[13] This is an expanding area of imperial research, which was stimulated by Robinson's influential article, R.E. Robinson, 'Non-European foundations of European imperialism' in E.R.J. Owen and R.B. Sutcliffe (eds), *Studies in the theory of imperialism* (London, 1972). It was then developed by (for example), Terence O. Ranger, 'African reaction to the imposition of colonial rule in East and Central Africa' and John D. Hargreaves, 'West African states and the European conquest', both in L.H. Gann and P. Duignan (eds), *The History and Politics of Colonialism in Africa* (Cambridge, 1969), I. chs 9 and 6; and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Oxford, 1983); Eric Stokes, 'Traditional elites in the great rebellion of 1857' in E. Leach and S.N. Mukherjee (eds), *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge, 1970).

This thesis cannot consider the variations between colonies in detail, but simply makes some general points about colonial elites.

[14] Leroy Vail, 'Introduction: ethnicity in southern African history', in Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Invention of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, 1988), 1-19; Bruce J. Berman, 'Nationalism, ethnicity, and modernity: the paradox of Mau Mau', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines* 25:2 (1991), 181-206. See also Michael Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America: unease in Eden' in Canny and Pagden, *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, 115-57, on the uneasy relationship between ethnicity and nationalism in the American colonies prior to the Revolution.

nineteenth century, does not in itself prove that nineteenth-century Ireland was a colony or that Ireland was necessarily similar to other British colonies. Kiernan, for example, argues that Ireland's 'nominal incorporation in the United Kingdom in 1800 did not do away with its colonial status, any more than the fiction of Algeria being part of metropolitan France, or Angola of Portugal.'[15] However, other historians have distrusted explicitly colonial interpretations of Ireland. They have worried about the fact that Ireland did not have colonial status in the constitutional sense, and that it differed substantially from the formal colonies.[16] The most obvious difference was that, under the provisions of the Union Ireland was able to participate directly in her own government, and also the internal government of England, through the House of Commons in Westminster. This was not the case for any of those regions which we normally describe as colonial.[17] The American colonies were specifically denied this participation in the late eighteenth century, despite having close ethnic links with Britain, as did Ireland. Ireland had a much closer relationship with Britain, over a much longer period, than did any of Britain's colonies. This relationship changed in shape and implications several times over the past eight centuries. During the nineteenth century when Nationalism emerged, could not be described as colonial in any historically accurate sense.

Third, portraying Irish history as a struggle against foreign rulers has tended to absorb a range of historical processes into the maelstrom of Anglo-Irish power relations. This has discouraged historians from attempting to see them as anything but contributory to a central colonial theme. In fact, even if Ireland's colonial status can be accepted, it would be by no means clear that relationships within Ireland were derived primarily from that status. Using the concept in a loose and uncritical way has resulted in the tendency for historians overplay the role of the British State in internal Irish affairs, and to understate other historical factors in the complex social, economic, and political relationships within Ireland. Querying the centrality of colonialism in the historical interpretation of nineteenth-century Irish History in no way

---

[15] V.G. Kiernan, 'The emergence of a nation' in C.H.E. Philpin (ed.), *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1987), 22.

[16] Steven Ellis, 'Historiographical debate: representations of the past in Ireland: whose past and whose present?' *IHS* 27 (1991), 289-308; J. Livesey and S. Murray, 'Post-colonial theory and modern Irish culture', *IHS* 30 (1997), 452-61.

[17] Liam Kennedy, 'Modern Ireland: post-colonial society or post-colonial pretensions?', *Irish Review* 13 (Winter 92/93).

dismisses that power relationship from the debate. However, it does help us disentangle the various historical processes that were operating in a period of dramatic transformation in economic, social, and political relationships. It can also contribute to a more accurate understanding of modern Nationalism specifically.

Many historians have used the notion that Ireland was a colony in the nineteenth century to reinforce an interpretation of Irish History that has pitted a self-consciously Irish Catholic Gaelic majority against a culturally English Protestant elite minority. It has also encouraged historians to assume that Irish national identity was unambiguously based on Gaelic ethnicity, and that this form of Irish identity remained static throughout Irish History.[18] So, using a colonial model has encouraged historians to take the Irish identity itself for granted, and to concentrate instead on charting the process whereby this cohesive cultural and ethnic group was transformed into a self-conscious nationalist political movement. This is made explicit by Tom Garvin, for example, in his work on the development of Irish nationalist movements.[19] The colonial model is also implicit in Bartlett's discussion of rise of Irish Catholic Nationalism, where he has assumed that popular identity itself remained stable and merely changed in its political significance.[20]

Recent cultural approaches to the history of Nationalism offer a way to consider those groups that have been excluded from the modern nation, by encouraging historians to examine the processes of 'imagining' the nation, which involved decisions about which groups to include or exclude in that community.[21] This 'imagining' process also relied on a process of 'othering' in which a community came to identify itself in opposition to another ethnic group. In the case of

---

[18] Brendan Bradshaw, 'Nationalism and Historical scholarship in modern Ireland', first published in *IHS* 26:104 (Nov. 1989), 329-51.

[19] Tom Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981). Other examples of the explicit use of the colonial model are Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: the celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966* (Berkeley, 1975) and the Marxist treatment of Erich Strauss, *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* (London, 1951).

[20] Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992).

[21] See, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London, 1991, 2nd ed.) and Frederick Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Bergen, 1969). Both have been used as key texts by post-colonial scholars because of the emphasis placed on culture and ethnicity in the process of defining nations.

Ireland, though, those who favour a colonial model have incorporated cultural approaches to Nationalism in a very specific way. It has been assumed by most historians that the most important 'other' is Britain, both in terms of culture and the British State, and that there was a struggle between Gaelic and British cultures for domination.[22] The incorporation of culture and ethnicity into colonial analysis is being done in ways that take little account of how contentious the notion of cultural imperialism is among historians of empire.[23] Furthermore, these historians are also ignoring the difference between racial ideology in the Empire, and the more culturally based conflicts which were prevalent in Ireland.

History from below needs to be integrated with history from above. The emergence of Nationalism was a result of the interaction between both groups, and therefore historical explanation cannot exclude the elite. Irish nationalists who were also members of the elite may have been over-emphasised by historians, who were anxious to ensure that the elite was not excluded from the Irish past. Far from abolishing the elite from the story, it is still necessary for historians to explain how it was possible for some members of the elite to attain leadership positions in nationalist movements when the elite was being collectively excluded.

My research into a particular group within the Irish elite has produced results which specifically undermine many of the general assumptions made by those interested in applying a colonial model to Ireland. This research has shown that Irish elite did not always act as an extension of the British State but instead tried to use the British State, to achieve its own goals. The elite were not permanently and irretrievably foreign in their own eyes, but instead they tried to re-invent themselves as a legitimate and Irish elite under the Union. They appear to have had some success in the early nineteenth century. For instance, the Bourke-Spring Rice group were able to establish themselves for a short time as genuinely popular leaders in Limerick. While Nationalism did eventually result in the elite's exclusion from the Irish nation, this was neither inevitable nor based on their foreign ethnicity. Instead, the elite failed to re-imagine themselves because of specific historical circumstances and because they found themselves

---

[22] See, for example, Thomas A. Boylan and Timothy P. Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland: the propagation and ideological function of economic discourse in the nineteenth century* (London, 1992).

[23] Andrew Porter, *European Imperialism 1860-1914* (Basingstoke, 1994), 20-29, 64-68.

incapable of acting together. Furthermore, some members of the elite did succeed in assuming leadership of the Irish nation in the second half of the nineteenth century, and they did not have to turn their backs on their whole heritage and ideology in order to embrace Nationalism. Instead, it was possible for some to adapt sufficiently so that they could embrace Nationalism as a new means to an old end: that of claiming legitimate leadership within Ireland. This kind of transformation from Unionism to Nationalism was achieved by some of the more Liberal members of Young Ireland made, like William Smith O'Brien, and later by other Liberal Protestants like Charles Parnell.

The European Model

New research is beginning to produce alternatives to the colonial model. For example, Sean Connolly has argued that in the eighteenth century, the Irish elite sought domination of the Irish poor within the parameters of a hierarchical social structure that had much in common with other European societies or *ancien regimes*.[24] He invites us to consider the proposition that many Irish conflicts were the result of internal Irish circumstances, at least in part, and were not the result of England's domination alone. Many of those struggles previously seen by historians as opposition to a foreign aggressor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, might be better interpreted as stemming from changes in the relationship between the various economic groups within Ireland. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries involved the development of a more economically powerful class of minor gentry, professionals, industrialists and merchants in Ireland, who attempted to grab a share of power using the mechanisms of the British State where they could.[25] In Limerick, the Catholic and Dissenting bourgeoisie of merchants and tradesmen was joined by minor gentry like Bourke, and legal professionals like Matthew Barrington and William Howley, to oppose the Vereker family's grip on local politics. In addition, they looked to Spring Rice as their new parliamentary representative in the 1820s to initiate measures of Municipal Reform, social reform (including

---

[24] S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), 2.

[25] This theme has been developed for the nineteenth century by J.J. Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Dublin, 1973) and K.T. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland* (Oxford, 1984).

education), defence of the linen bounty, and most important, support of Catholic Emancipation. These bourgeoisie were not trying to demolish the entire social, political, and economic structure in Ireland, but they were trying to use the British State to adapt the Irish *ancien regime* that had previously been supported by the British State. According to this reading the central conflict was between different groups of 'would-be rulers', albeit with the involvement of the British State, and not between Irish ruled and English rulers. As economic and political circumstances in Ireland changed, wherein the involvement of the British State was one element only, the relationships between economic and social groups within Ireland also changed. This European model has been developed much more fully for the eighteenth-century period,[26] though there are increasing attempts to develop these comparisons in the nineteenth-century context as well.[27]

Furthermore, the contrast which Whelan presents between the colonial model and the *'ancien regime* model' is not entirely realistic: the two approaches are not mutually exclusive.[28] In fact, both European and colonial comparisons can be useful in understanding Irish History, as long as they are based on careful analysis of historical circumstances instead of the blind application of an artificial model. This is particularly clear in the consideration of the role of elites in nineteenth-century Nationalisms. Many of the social and cultural factors that shaped the relationship between elites and Nationalist groups were common to both European and colonial contexts. For example, in all these different situations nations were imagined and re-imaged in specific historical circumstances; Nationalism produced a re-assessment of how social groups within those societies should be perceived, and these debates were also shaped by specific historical circumstances which affected the results; and finally, threatened elites

---

[26] Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*; Joep Leerssen, 'Anglo-Irish Patriotism and its European context: notes towards a reassessment', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988), 7-24; C.D.A. *Catholicism in a Protestant Kingdom: a study of the Irish ancien régime* (Dublin, 1994) and J.R. Hill,'The civic tradition in Scotland and Ireland in the mid-eighteenth century' in S.J. Connolly, R. Houston, and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, identity and economic development in Ireland and Scotland* (Preston, 1995).

[27] John Coakley, 'National territories and cultural frontiers: conflicts of principle in the formation of states in Europe', *West European Politics* 5 (1982), 34-49; 'Independence movements and national minorities: some parallels in the European experience', *European Journal for Political Research* 8 (1980), 215-48; 'National minorities and the government of divided societies: a comparative analysis of some European evidence', *Ibid.* 18 (1990), 437-56.

[28] Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry?', 56. This point is made by S.J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, 103-14.

were capable of developing a variety of strategies to maintain their leadership, which might involve collaborating with other States or assuming the leadership of nationalist movements. Moreover, the notion that only colonial elites collaborated with foreign powers is misguided; European elites collaborated with foreign States too. The familial links within the European elites that spanned national divides meant that collaboration was one of the strategies for survival that was open to them when under challenge (for example in the European revolutions of 1848), just as it was open to colonial elites.

These ties between European elites often meant that they had more in common with each other than with the masses in their own regions. This raises questions about how central ethnicity was in determining the elite role in nationalist movements, and indeed what role ethnicity played in the development of nationalist movements as a whole. Where elites were excluded from emerging national identities, historians need to consider the possibility that their 'foreignness' might have been as much a function of their failure to re-imagine themselves successfully in changing historical circumstances, as it was a function of any inherent ethnicity. Colonial examples show that there were a number of alternative survival strategies open to weak elites, which ranged from close collaboration with a foreign State, to conditional collaboration, to outright resistance against unwanted imperial incursions. Colonial elites cannot be neatly divided into settler groups which collaborated with external control, and indigenous elites which resisted external control. Both settler elites and indigenous elites had choices about how they adapted to changing circumstances. They were constantly re-inventing themselves to suit those circumstances, and sometimes they even changed in composition. Therefore, whether an elite was able to assume leadership of an emerging nation was as much a result of their ability to adapt to new circumstances, as it was a function of their ethnicity, or whether they were a colonial or European elite. The Irish Liberals examined in this thesis were able to adapt reasonably well up until the 1840s, and some families continued to achieve this after the Famine; the Irish 'Patriots' examined by Jacqueline Hill were also able to adapt until the 1830s, but found it more difficult thereafter.[29]

---

[29] Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997).

The British Model

This research on Liberal members of the Irish elite also raises issues relevant to British and Imperial historiography. Pocock argued that historians needed to address the new subject of 'British History, which he defined as the study of interactions between all the groups that made up the United Kingdom.[30] However, most historians who use the British model have either studied the way metropolitan identity was extended to other parts of the United Kingdom and to the colonies as well, or they have studied the interplay between English and Scottish identities. This examination of Irish Liberals during the first half of the nineteenth century has shown that they were able to influence the development of Liberalism in the metropolis as well as in Ireland. British identity and British Liberalism were both more than the sum of the parts, because they involved interaction between groups, ideologies, and variations of identity that emerged from the various parts of the United Kingdom. This research has also shown that the particular form of British identity that these Irish Liberals developed was transportable beyond Ireland, and that it was of particular relevance in settlement colonies like New South Wales. The result was that both the 'margins' and the 'metropolis' became more open to external influence. In this expanding 'British world' in which people were coming together in new combinations, and were coming into contact with new ideas or with variations on a shared British identity, it is necessary to move beyond nationally bounded History.

---

[30] J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: a plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975), 601-621.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Manuscripts

Ireland

1) DUBLIN

Church Representative Body Library

Abington Vestry Book P6
Beresford papers A12
Jebb papers ms 208
Hibernian Church Missionary Society Minute Books and Abstract Letterbooks 1814-58
Limerick Diocese papers D13
Proceedings of the Association for the Purpose of Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Practice of Virtue and Religion ms 174
Stradbally Parish (Killaloe) preacher books P27

National Archives (formerly Public Record Office and State Paper Office)

Chief Secretary's Office Correspondence
Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers
Constabulary returns
National Education Board records 1835-1900
Notes on Irish Education (by Thomas Spring Rice) M499
'Outrage' papers
Relief Commission 1845-7
Report relating to Corporation Records of Limerick M2438
Society for the Improvement of Ireland papers (1829) M482
Society of Friends Relief papers and correspondence
'State of the Country' papers

National Library of Ireland

Ballytore papers n1007-24/p1089-1106; n1937-43/p1469-74
Bourke, Richard papers mss 3887; 8221; 8473-8478; 19760-1; 19787-98; 21760-72; 21841
Brodrick, Charles papers mss 8861-95
Brunswick Constitutional Clubs, letters ms 5017
Cloncurry papers ms 9053 Harris' Collectanea ms 13
Commission of National Education Board Minutes mss 5518-42
Emly papers ms 19337 (papers of William Monsell of Tervoe Co. Limerick)
Fitzgerald, William Vesey papers mss 7845-58
Gabbett papers n3263/p2281
Hunt, Sir Vere papers (1761-1818) ms 1809; n5396-7/p5527-8
Inchiquin papers mss 3464-70; 14507
Leadbeater papers (including Harvey and Fisher corresp.) n1007-1024/p1089-1106 1937-42/ p1469-74 n3618/ p3236; ms 5985 9292-9346 (diaries of Mary Leadbeater)
Limerick Corporation Minute Books 1809-1823 n5295-6/p5526-7
Limerick Philosophical and Literary Society Minute Books 1847-9 n5398/p5529
McMullin, John, Report on the State of the Linen Trade in Ireland (c.1820) ms 13630
Monsell papers mss 8317-9
Monteagle papers mss 532-66; 605B-E; 11140; 13345-13411
Newport, Sir John papers mss 482-3
Pery, Edward Sexton papers n2654/p1561
Quane, Dr Michael (Commission of Education papers) mss 16918-41
Rolleston family papers mss 13794-13979
Shapland-Carew papers ms 4020S
Sheil, Richard Lalor papers ms 11138
Smith O'Brien, William papers mss 426-467/n5601-26; 22361-97/p8398-8402
Wyse, Thomas papers mss 15018-33; n4985/p5078

Royal Irish Academy

Halliday Pamphlets
Madden, Richard Robert papers

Society of Friends Historical Library

Distress in Ireland papers
Geneological Files for Harvey and Fisher families
Lecky letters (Joseph Massy Harvey snr correspondence)
Pamphlet Boxes
Webb papers (William Harvey correspondence)

St Columba's College Rathfarnam (mss in possession of school)

'Foundation Book' - including a 'Narrative' by Viscount Adare
Founders correspondence (5 vols mainly involving J.H. Todd, W. Sewell, Lord Adare, W. Monsell re: foundation of the college and the Oxford Movement c.1840-43)

Trinity College Library

Beresford, John George de la Poer, Lord papers (re: Irish University affairs in 1850s) mss 2770-4 (incorporating mss 2490-1)
de Vere, Stephen papers ms 5061
Dillon, John papers (letters to Rev. Heneage Jebb and Mrs Jebb) ms 7102
Elrington papers TCD/MUN/P/I
Fitzpatrick, W.J. papers (incl. Doyle corresp.) Misc IV
Forster, Reverend Charles papers (1820-1870) ms 6392
Harvey, Prof. William ms 3640
Jebb, John (snr) papers mss 2321a; 6391-7a
Jebb, John (jnr) papers ms 6398
Jebb, Richard papers ms 7106
Todd, J.H. ms 2214
Whately, Richard papers

2) LIMERICK

Barrington papers (Glenstal Abbey, Murroe, County Limerick)
Bourke papers (Mid-West Regional Archives)
Chamber of Commerce Minute Books 1815-1825 (Mid-West Regional Archives, Limerick)
Cloncurry papers (Glenstal Abbey, Murroe, County Limerick)
Grand Jury Presentments for County Limerick, 1807-1899 (Limerick County Library)
Limerick District Lunatic Asylum papers (St Joseph's Hospital, Limerick)
Monteagle papers (Mid-West Regional Archives, Limerick)

3) BELFAST

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

Abercorn papers, T2541
Anglesey papers, D619
Campbell, James papers (J. Russell and Sons, Limerick, 1858-59) D2168
Crawford, William Sharman papers D856
Downshire papers D671
Dunraven papers (Windham Wyndham Quin, MP for Limerick 1807-20) D3196
FitzGerald, Maurice papers (Knight of Kerry) T3075, esp. vols 10-16
FitzGibbon papers (Earl of Clare) T3224
Shannon papers (Henry Boyle, 1st Earl of Shannon and son Richard, 2nd Earl) D2707

Queen's University, Belfast, Library

Newport papers ms 7

4) PAPERS IN PRIVATE POSSESSION, IRELAND

Bourke papers (Mr Gerard Bourke, Thornfield, Lisnagry, Co. Limerick)
FitzGerald papers (Knight of Glin, Glin Castle, Co. Limerick)
Inchiquin papers (including O'Brien family correspondence, Ainsworth report)

Limerick Society of Friends papers (John Grubb, Fedamore, Co. Limerick)
Monteagle papers (Lord Monteagle, Templenoe, Fermoy, Co. Cork)

AUSTRALIA

1) SYDNEY

State Library of New South Wales (Mitchell Library)

Arthur papers
Bourke family papers, vols.1-15 mss:A1728-A1742; mss 415 and 403
Bourke letters 1838-1850 ms 2328
W.G. Broughton Correspondence (Jan. 1829-Jan. 1853), ms B1612
W.G. Broughton Papers, Microfilm: FM4/225-6 (originals im Moore Theological College, Sydney)
Deas Thomson papers mss A1531-1334
Deas Thomson, Anne [née Anne Bourke, daughter of Richard Bourke], 'Journal of a voyage to Australia, Aug.-Nov. 1831' (microfilm of typescript copy) FM3/743
Lang, John Dunmore papers ms A2226
Macarthur family papers mss A2897-A2988; ms A4341
Marsden papers ms A5412 (microfilm: CY A1992 1)
Mitchell, Sir Thomas L. papers mss A292-5; ms A7131
Plunkett, John Hubert papers
Scott, Thomas Hobbes papers (letterbooks 1825-9) mss A850-1
Therry, Roger papers
Wentworth family papers

New South Wales State Archives

Colonial Secretary's Office, Inward Correspondence (1829-52) 4/2012-3179
Colonial Secretary's Office, Outward Correspondence (1829-52) 4/3180-4283
Correspondence between Governors and Officials 4/1639
Executive Council Minute Books (1829-47) 4/1516-22, and Appendices to Minutes (1829-47) 4/1440-51

2) MELBOURNE

State Library of Victoria (LaTrobe Library)

Arthur papers
Bourke papers

BRITAIN

1) LONDON

British Library

Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade add. mss 21254-6 (minute books 1787-1819)
Croker, John Wilson papers add. ms 52471 (diary)
Deas Thomson family papers add. ms 47757
Huskisson Papers, add. ms 38752
Killaloe Diocese papers (Church of Ireland)
Knox, Alexander papers add. mss 41163-6 (Jebb corresp.)
Peel papers add. mss 40275-602 (corresp. with Thomas Spring Rice), 40396, 40398-40542 (corresp. with Dudley Montague Perceval)
Perceval, Spencer papers add. mss 49173-86, 49188-95 (incl. DM Perceval corresp: 49193)
Wellesley, Richard papers add. mss 37298-37307, 38103
Windham papers add. ms 37873

Lambeth Palace Library

Horsley, Bishop Samuel and Heneage papers mss 1767, 2809

Jebb, John jnr. papers ms 1680
Whately papers ms 2164

Public Record Office

Aylmer papers (re Canada) CO387
Bathurst papers CO323/142-75
Buller papers WO132
Cape of Good Hope papers CO48/63-133, CO51/1-16
'Distress papers' HO100
Dublin Castle records, 7 Ribbonism (1798-1839) CO904 (NLI: p8165)
Expired Commissions of Inquiry papers HO73
Horton papers CO325/33-35
Huskisson papers (1827-28) CO324/101-102
Irish Reproductive Loan Fund papers (241 vols 1822-74) T91
Lowry Cole papers (Mauritius and Cape) PRO30/43
Murray papers WO80
New South Wales papers CO11; CO203-206; CO580
Russell papers 30/22
Spring Rice papers, D6633-6815a D7988-93; M497-501; M524; T2006-27, T2067
South Australia papers CO13; CO15
Tasmania papers CO281-284

Society of Friends Library

Backhouse, James letterbooks
Fry, Elizabeth papers
Gurney papers
Genealogical Files

2) Other Libraries and Archives

Bourke papers ms Afr.t.7 (Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford)
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society papers and minute books mss Brit.Emp.s.18-20 - before 1835 this was the Society for the Amelioration and Gradual Abolition of Slavery (Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford)
Brodrick papers (Archbishop of Cashel) 1782-1824, ms 1248/14-19 (Surrey Record Office, Guildford)
Buxton papers mss Brit.Emp.s.444; mss Amer.r.1 (Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford)
Carlyle papers (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh) ms 1764
Fitzwilliam papers, esp. G83-108, Bundles 36-39 (Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Sheffield City Libraries)
Le Marchant, Sir John Gaspard papers, packets 2, 5a, 6, 8, 15a and letterbooks 1804-11 (Central Library, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst)
Monteagle (Spring Rice) papers (John Rylands University of Manchester Library) mss 1187-1189
Monteagle (Spring Rice) papers (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh) ms 866
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge papers (University College Library, London)

3) Papers in Private Possession

Bourke family papers (Mrs Bridget Agate and Mr Gerald Osborne, Milton Lilbourne, Wiltshire)
Bourke family papers (Mr James Osborne, Wellington, Somerset)
Deas Thomson family papers (Hon. Mr John Grigg, London)
Le Fanu papers (Mr Walter R. le Fanu, Chelmsford, Gloucestershire)

II. Printed Contemporary Sources

A) Parliamentary Debates

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), new series (London, 1820-30)
Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), third series (London, 1831-70)

B) Parliamentary Papers

Irish

1762 [Pery's inquiry into the Limerick Corporation, reprinted as part of the [British] 1835 *Municipal Corporations Inquiry*, see below]

British

1812-1813 (21), vi. *Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland: fourteenth report, view of the chief foundations, with some general remarks and result of deliberations*
1816 (374) ix. *First Report from the Select Committee on provisions for regulating the Grand Jury Presentments of Ireland*
1819 (77) iv. *Report from the Committee on the Petitions complaining of Undue Election for County Limerick*
1819 (518) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Gaols*
1820 (229) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Limerick [City] Election Petition*
1822 (353, 413, 451). *Reports from the Select Committee on the Grand Jury Presentments of Ireland*
1822 (448) xx. *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales* ('Bigge report 1')
1822 (560) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on the Laws which Regulate the Linen Trade of Ireland*
1822 (617) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Relating to the Local Taxation of the City of Limerick*
1823 (33) x. *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the Judicial Establishments in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* ('Bigge report 2')
1823 (561) vi. *Report from the Select Committee on the Employment of the Poor in Ireland*
1824 (168) ii. *Bill to Repeal the Act relating to Burials in Suppressed Monasteries, Abbeys, or Convents in Ireland, and to make provision for Burial of Persons Dissenting from the Established Church*
1824 (257) xxii. *Abstract of returns relative to magistrates, constables, and subconstables appointed under the constables' act for Ireland*
1825 (129) viii. *Report from the [Commons] Select Committee on the State of Ireland*
1825 (181, 521) ix. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Lords Select Committee on the State of Ireland*
1825 (200) vii. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee on Disturbances in Ireland*
1825 (400) xii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*
1825 (411, 463) v. *Report from the Select Committee on the Linen Trade of Ireland*
1826 (277) xxvi. *Papers relating to the conduct of Magistrates in New South Wales in directing the Infliction of Punishments upon Prisoners in that Colony*
1826 (404) iv. *Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom*
1826 (Lords: 40) v. *Report by the Foregoing House of Lords' Committee [on the State of Ireland]*
1826-27 (12,13, 89, 441, 442, 443, 509, 516) xii-xiii. *2nd-9th Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Education in Ireland*
1826-27 (555) iii. *Report from the Select Committee on Proceedings for Regulating the Grand Jury Presentments of Ireland*
1828 (68) xii. *Sixth Report of the Inspectors General on the General State of the Prisons of Ireland*
1828 (341) iv. *Report from the Select Committee on Education in Ireland*
1829 (253) xxii. *Persons Registered as Freeholders ... and admitted as freemen within the last eight years in Ireland*
1829 (435)xxxvi. *Parliamentary Representation, Ireland*

1830 (200) xvi. *Return of the Number of Freemen Created in Corporate Towns in Ireland, April-July 1831*
1830 (589, 654, 655, 667) vii. *Reports from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland*
1831-32 (547) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Secondary Punishments*
1831-32 (550) xxxvi. *Return of the Number of Freemen Created in Corporate Towns Returning Members of Parliament in Ireland, 1831-32*
1831-32 (677) xvi. *Report from the Select Committee on the Immediate Causes of the Disturbance in Ireland and on the Efficiency of the Laws for the Suppression of Outrages Against the Public Peace*
1831-32 (Lords) cccx. *Statement of the 'Alterations required by the Board' in any 'School books issued by the Roman Catholic Book Society which have received the sanction of the Board' and of the measures taken to ensure that these alterations be made: before such books be used in any of the schools on behalf of which applications for the aid of the Board have been complied with*
1834 (572) ix. *Report from the Select Committee on the State of Education*
1835 (45, 46) xxxiii. *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland, with Appendix*
1835 (23) xxvii. *Report of the Commissioners to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland*
1835 (47) xxxiv. *Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland*
1836 (43) xxx-xxxiv. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Poor in Ireland*
1836 (538) vii. *Interim Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), with Minutes of Evidence*
1837 (377) xv. *First report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the nature, character, extent and tendency of Orange lodges, associations or societies in Ireland, with the minutes of evidence, and appendix*
1837 (425) vii. *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines in British Settlements*
1837 (485), ix. *Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education, Ireland, together with Minutes of Evidence*
1837 (543-I,II) viii. *Report by the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Plan of Education in Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence*, 2 parts
1837 (518) xix. *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, with Minutes of Evidence*
1837-38 (669) xxii. *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation*
1847-48 (Lords: 415, 593) xvii. *First and Second Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland; with the Minutes of Evidence*
1847 (737) vi. *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland*
1849 (86), xl. *Third Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland; with the Minutes of Evidence*
1849 (593) xxxviii; 1850 (1163) xxxxvi; 1851 (347-I, 347-II) xl; 1852 (1489) xxxiv. *Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies*
1849 (527) xlii. *A return of the cost of the following works, printed by order of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*
1854 (525) xv. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Practical Working of the System of National Education in Ireland*
1859 (148) xxi, part II. *Returns of the titles of books published or sanctioned by the Irish National Board with the authors or editors of each work; returns relating to Education (Ireland)*

Australia

1824-37. *Public and General Statutes of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1861)
1831-37. *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1847)
1835. *Report from the Committee on Police and Gaols*
1838. *Report from the Committee on the Aboriginal Question, with Minutes of Evidence*
1838-42. *Reports from the Committee on Immigration*
1839. *Report from the Committee on Police and Gaols*
1844. *Minutes of Evidence ... Select Committee on Education*

C) Periodicals and Newspapers

Ireland

Agricultural and Industrial Journal (Journal of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland)
Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine
Clare Journal
Dublin Evening Mail
Dublin Evening Post
Dublin Penny Journal
Dublin University Magazine
Dublin University Review
Ennis Chronicle
Freeman's Journal
General Advertiser or Limerick Gazette (1804-1820) then *Limerick Advertiser*
Independent and Munster Advertiser
Irish Ecclesiastical Journal
Irish Times
Limerick Chronicle
Limerick Evening Post (1811-28) then 1828-1833 *Limerick Evening Post and Clare Sentinel*; 1834-1838 *Limerick Star and Evening Post*
Nation
Northern Whig
Public Register or Freeman's Journal
Tipperary Free Press
United Irishman

Australia

Australian
Colonist
Empire
Sydney Gazette
Sydney Monitor
Sydney Herald

Britain

Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter
Athenaeum
Blackwood's Magazine
Contemporary Review
Eclectic Review
Economist
Edinburgh Review
Fraser's Magazine
Morning Chronicle
Quarterly Journal of Education (1831-35)
Quarterly Review
Times
Westminster Review

D) Society Reports

Aboriginals Protection Society ... extracts (Sydney, 1839)
Association Incorporated for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting Knowledge of the Christian Religion, report (Dublin, 1832)
Athenaeum Club: list of members 1830-53 (London, 1830-53)
British and Irish Ladies Society, for Improving the Condition and Promoting the Industry and Welfare of the female peasantry in Ireland, First Report (London, 1825)
Brunswick Constitutional Club, Report of Speech at the First general Meeting ... Held in the Rotundo, 4 Nov. 1828 by John Martin (Dublin, 1828)

Brunswick Constitutional Club of Ireland, A full and authoritative report of the proceedings of the first general meeting... 4 Nov. 1828 (Dublin, 1828)
Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, reports 1834-70 (bound with House of Commons sessional papers)
Dublin Association for the Improvement of Prison Discipline: a statement of the objectives of the association (Dublin, 1819)
[Dublin] Mansion House Committee on the Potato Disease, report (Dublin, 1846)
Dublin Protestant Operative Association and Reformation Society, soiree (Dublin, 1846)
Dublin Society for the Improvement of Ireland, summary of proceedings (Dublin, 1830)
Friends Relief Committee, transactions during the Famine in Ireland 1846-7 (Dublin, 1852)
Irish Evangelical Society, annual reports
Irish Metropolitan Conservative Association .. 1836, report of the proceedings and *authentic reports of the special meetings of the IMCS* (Dublin, [1836], 1837)
Irish Protestant Association, report (Dublin, 1836)
Irish Society, proceedings of the committee (Dublin, 1818-32)
Limerick Board of Trade, First report of the committee ... appointed to enquire into the present state and prospects of Irish Manufactures, especially those carried on in Limerick and its vicinity (Limerick, n.d., [c.1830s])
Limerick Chamber of Commerce, incorporated 2 June 1815, charter and bye laws (Limerick, 1815)
Limerick District Lunatic Asylum, annual reports (Limerick, 1834, 1888, 1896, 1897)
Limerick Horticultural Society, annual reports (Limerick, 1868-1870)
Linen and Hempen Manufacturers, trustees, proceedings (Dublin, 1824)
Loyal National Repeal Association, founded upon Dr Kane's treatise, report of the parliamentary committee (Dublin, 1844)
Methodist Conferences in Ireland, minutes (Dublin, 1864-67) 3 vols
Political Economy Club: minutes, members, attendances, and questions 1821-1882 (London, 1882) 3 vols
Protestant Association of Ireland, First Report of the (Dublin, 1836)
Protestant Colonization Society of Ireland, reports and transactions (Dublin, 1830-32)
Reform Club: rules and regulations ... list of members (London, 1840)
Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, reports and transactions, 1847-8 (1848)
[Royal] Hibernian Society, for establishing schools, and circulating the Holy Scriptures in Ireland: with extracts of correspondence, annual reports (London, 1825-26, 1827-29)
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, addresses of the Committee and List of Members (London, 1832)
Society [for the Improvement of Ireland], statement of the proceedings, with an appendix containing its rules and regulations, names of members and other illustrative documents (Dublin, 1828)
Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, reports of the committee (Dublin 1821-32)
Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, annual reports 1813-50 (imperfect)
Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for Promoting Christian Knowledge ... Australia, 29 June 1836, statement of objects (Sydney, 1836)
Society for the Relief of Distressed Protestants ... 1837, annual report (Dublin, 1838)
Society for the Improvement of Ireland ... as adopted at the Public Meeting of Citizens of Dublin ... 21 May 1846, report of the committee (Dublin, 1846)

E) Contemporary Books and Pamphlets

Addison, Henry Robert, *Recollections of an Irish Police Magistrate and other reminiscences of the south of Ireland* (London, 1862)
Address of the Catholics of Ireland to the people of England (Dublin, 1826)
Address to the Reform Association: the Irish Church (London, 1835)
Agricultural Class Book: or, how best to cultivate a small farm and garden, together with hints on domestic economy (Commissioners of National Education in Ireland: Dublin, 1850)
Allen, William *Scripture Lessons for schools on the British system for mutual instruction* (London, 1820)
Analysis of the late Election of Limerick ... with an Address (Limerick, 1832)
Arnold, Thomas, 'The Church of England', *Edinburgh Review* 44 (Sept. 1826), 490-513
Arnold, Thomas, *Principles of Church Reform* (London, 1962 [1833])
Arnold, Thomas, *Sermons* (London, 1829-34)

ARNOLD, Thomas, *Sermons: chiefly on the interpretation of scripture* (London, 1845)
ARMSTRONG, John Simpson, *A Report of Trials under a Special Commission for the County of Limerick* (Dublin, 1848)
ARTHUR, G., *Observations Upon Secondary Punishments, to which is added a letter upon the same subject by the Archdeacon of New South Wales* (Hobart,1833)
BACKHOUSE, James, *Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London, 1843)
BALL, J.T., *The Reformed Church of Ireland 1537-1886* (London, 1886)
BARRINGTON, Jonah, *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation* (Dublin, 1853 [1833])
BEVAN, Joseph Gurney, *Thoughts on Reason and Revelation, particularly the revelation of the scriptures* (Dublin, 1842, 4th ed.)
BICHENO, J.E., *Ireland and its Economy* (London, 1830)
[BIRD, W.W.], *The State of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London, 1823)
BLAND, William, *Letters to Charles Buller Esq. M.P. from the Australian Patriotic Association* (Sydney, 1849)
BLIGH, John, *Hints and Examples illustrative of the theory and practice of Analytic Teaching* (London, 1835)
BOARD of Works, Ireland, *Correspondence with Lord Monteagle and the Hon. Stephen Spring Rice* (Dublin, 1846)
[BOURKE, Sir Richard], 'Athamik', *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora* (Dublin, 1820)
BOURKE, Ulick J., *The Aryan Origin of the Gaelic Race and Language* (London, 1875)
BOYTON, Rev. Charles, *Observations on Church and State* (Dublin, 1838)
BOYTON, Rev. Charles, *Speech ... at the Protestant Conservative Society ... 10 July 1832* (Dublin, 1832)
[BREWSTER, D.], Review of Brougham's *Discourse on Natural Theology* (1835) and his edition of Paley's *Natural Theology*, *Edinburgh Review*[1] 64 (1836-37), 263-302
[BROUGHAM, Henry], 'Diffusion of Knowledge', *Edinburgh Review* 47 (1828), 118-34
[BROUGHAM, Henry], 'Establishments at Hofwyl', *Edinburgh Review* 32 (1819), 487-507
[BROUGHAM, Henry], 'High Church Opinions on Popular Education', *Edinburgh Review* 42 (Apr. 1825), 206-23
[BROUGHAM, Henry], 'Mr Fellenberg's Establishments at Hofwyl', *Edinburgh Review* 32 (1818), 150-65
BROUGHAM, Henry, *Practical Observations upon the Education of the Poor* (London, 1825, 16th ed.)
[BROUGHAM, Henry], 'Scientific Education of the People', *Edinburgh Review* 41 (1824), 96-122
[BROUGHAM, Henry], 'Thoughts on Popular Education (Supposed Dangers of Knowledge)', *Edinburgh Review* 42 (Nov. 1825), 242-8
BROUGHTON, Bishop William G., *A Letter in Vindication of the Principles of the Reformation, addressed to Roger Therry, Esq.* (Sydney, 1832)
BROUGHTON, Bishop William G., *Religion, Essential to the Security and Happiness of Nations* (Sydney, 1834)
BROUGHTON, Bishop William G., *A Sermon ... 26 May 1839, being Trinity Sunday* (Sydney, 1839)
BROUGHTON, Bishop William G., *Speech of the Lord Bishop of Australia in the Legislative Council upon the Resolution for Establishing a System of General Education* (Sydney, 1839)
BURTON, W.W., *State of Religion and Education in New South Wales* (London, 1840)
BUTLER, William Archer, *Church Education Society* (Dublin, 1840)
BUTT, Isaac, *Intellectual Progress. an inaugural address delivered at the opening of the session of the Limerick Athenaeum, 1 Oct. 1872* (Limerick, 1872)
BUTT, Isaac, *Liberty of Teaching Vindicated* (Dublin, 1865)
BUTT, Isaac, *The Poor Law Bill for Ireland Examined* (London, 1837)
BUTT, Isaac, *Protection to Home Industry: some cases of its advantage considered* (Dublin, 1846)
BUTT, Isaac, *Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords on the Irish Corporation Reform Bill* (London, 1840)

---

[1] Authorship of *Edinburgh Review* articles from Walter E. Houghton (ed.), *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (Toronto, 1966-88).

BUTT, Isaac, *Speech on the Repeal of the Union ... at the Dublin Corporation ... 1843* (Dublin, 1843)
BUXTON, Thomas Fowell, *An Inquiry whether Crime be produced or prevented by our present System of Prison Discipline* (London, 1818)
CARBERY, Mary, *The Farm by Lough Gur: the story of Mary Fogarty* (Cork, 1973 [1937])
CARLETON, William, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (New York, 1862 [1830-33]) 2 vols
CARLYLE, T., *Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849* (London, 1882)
CARMICHAEL, Rev. Henry, *Hints relating to Emigrants and Emigration* (London, 1834)
CARMICHAEL, Rev. Henry, 'Introductory Discourse delivered at the opening of the Sydney Mechanics School of Arts, 23 April 1833', *New South Wales Magazine* 1:2-4 (Sept. 1833) 66-81; Oct. (1833), 152-61; (Nov. 1833), 212-17
CARSON, Alexander, *The Right and Duty of All Men to Read the Scriptures ... containing a refutation of several parts of a pamphlet by J.K.L. entitled "Letters on the State of Education and Bible Societies"* (Dublin, 1824)
Clare Election. ... conflict between Talbot Glascock and Daniel O'Connell (Dublin, 1829)
CLOSE, Rev. Francis, *A Justification of the Charges brought against the British and Foreign School Society ... a Rejoinder to Mr. H. Dunn's Reply* (Sydney, 1839)
[COLQUHOUN, P.], *Considerations of the Means of Affording Profitable Employment to the Redundant Population of Great Britain and Ireland, through the Medium of an Improved and Correct System of Colonization in the British Territories in Southern Africa* (London, 1818)
CONNERY, James, *The Reformer, or, an infallible remedy to prevent pauperism and periodical returns of Famine* 5th ed. (Limerick, 1833)
COOKE, Henry, *Authentic Report of the Speech of the Rev. Henry Cooke, delivered at the General Synod of Ulster held at Cookstown, July 1828* (Belfast, 1828)
COOKE, Henry, *National Education: a sermon preached in the Presbyterian Church, May Street, Belfast, January 1832* (Belfast, 1832)
COPLESTON, E., *An Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination* (London, 1821)
[COPLEY, John Singleton], *Letter to [Thomas Spring Rice] on the appointment of Sheriffs in Ireland under the Earl of Mulgrave [Constantine Henry Phipps, later Marquis of Normanby]. by a Barrister* (London, 1838)
COPLESTON, E., *An Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination* (London, 1821)
CORKERY, Daniel, *Hidden Ireland* (Dublin, 1967 [1924])
The County Club, Limerick: a short history of a hundred years of club life. by J.B. (Dublin, c.1913)
CRAIG, E.T., *The Irish Land and Labour Question, Illustrated in the History of Ralahine, and Co-operative Farming* (London and Manchester, 1893)
CROKER, John Wilson, *A Sketch of the Past and Present State of Ireland* (London, 1822 [1808])
CROKER, T. Crofton, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London, 1824)
CULLEN, Daniel and John O'Donnell, *The Model School System analysed and described. addresses delivered in the Limerick Town Council* (Limerick, 1864)
DE TOCQUEVILLE, Alexis, *Alexis de Tocqueville's Journey in Ireland July-August 1835* trans. and ed. Emmet Larkin (Dublin, 1990)
DE VERE, Aubrey, *The Church Settlement of Ireland, or, Hibernica Pacanda* (London, 1866)
DE VERE, Aubrey, *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds* (London, 1848)
DE VERE, Aubrey, *Ireland and Proportional Representation* (Dublin, 1885)
DE VERE, Aubrey, *Thoughts on the Grand Jury System of Ireland* (Limerick, 1878)
DE VERE, Aubrey, *Recollections of Aubrey de Vere* (London, 1897)
DE VERE, Stephen, 'Lecture on Emigration to Limerick Catholic Young Men's Society' (Limerick, n.d. [c.1860s])
The Danger of Disseminating the Scriptures without Note or Comment (Dublin, 1818)
Daily devotions or the most profitable manner of hearing Mass, necessary for all Roman Catholics, for better understanding thereof (Limerick, 1819)
DALY, Robert, *Letters of the Rev. Robert Daly to Daniel O'Connell with the Reply of Daniel O'Connell* (Dublin, 1826)
DALY, Robert, *Sermon, preached in the parish church of Powerscourt, 9 Nov. 1825, on the death of the Honourable and Reverend E. Wingfield* (Dublin, 1825)
DALY, Robert, *Sermon, preached in the St Anne's Church, Dublin, 27 May 1821 in aid of the Irish Society* (Dublin, 1821)
DALY, Robert, *Visitation Sermon, preached in the Cathedral Church of St Patrick* (Dublin, 1815)
DEANE, Edward, *Tidings from the Other World* (Limerick: 1832)
DEANE, Edward, *Truth and Error contrasted ...* (Limerick, 1832)

Documents ... connected with the canvas of Pierce Mahony, Esq. as a Candidate for ... the City of Limerick ... December 1832 collected by a Friend (Limerick, 1833)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *Address to the People* (Carlow, 1822)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *An Essay on the Catholic Claims addressed to the Earl of Liverpool* (Dublin, 1826)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *An Essay on Education and the State of Ireland, by an Irish Catholic. with remarks by W.J. Fitzpatrick* (Dublin, 1880)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *The Church of Ireland: a dialogue between a bishop and a judge, on Tithes* (Dublin, 1831)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *'Good Men in Bad Times': the pastoral address to the deanery of Kilcock* (Monaghan, 1822)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Letters on a Re-Union of the Churches of England and Rome from and to Dr. Doyle, John O'Driscol, Alexander Knox and Thomas Newenham* (Dublin: 1824)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *A Letter to ... the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin [in reply to Magee's sermon of 24 Oct. 1822]* (Dublin, 1822)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *Letter ... to the Duke of Wellington respecting Catholic Securities; [with] his letter to D. O'Connell on the approaching election for Clare* (Dublin, 1828)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Letter to Thomas Spring Rice, Esq., M.P., on the Establishment of a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor* (Dublin, 1831)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Letters on the State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Letters on the State of Education in Ireland; and on Bible Societies. by J.K.L.* (Dublin, 1824)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *Pastoral Address... Lent 1825* (Carlow, 1825)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *Pastoral Address... on Ribbonism* (Dublin, 1822)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *Pastoral Letter ... authenticating a miracle wrought by the intercession of Prince Hohenlohe in the person of Miss Maria Lalor* (Dublin, 1823)
DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin), *A Reply ... to the Appendix, &c., by Thomas Elrington* (Dublin, 1827)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Second Letter ... in reply to the charge ... of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin* (Dublin, 1824)
[DOYLE, J.W. (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin)], *Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics* (Dublin, 1823)
DRUMMOND, W.H., *One Is Your Master - Even Christ: a discourse, containing a refutation of certain high church principles, held by the celebrated Edmund Burke, and by the Rev. Dr. Charles R. Elrington; delivered before the Presbyterian synod of Munster, in Clonmel, 5 July 1831* (Dublin, 1831)
DUFFY, Charles Gavan, *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (London, 1898, 2nd ed.) 2 vols
DUHY, Matthew, *Remarks on the advantage of the Landed Property Improvement Act and Hints on Draining* (Dublin, 1850)
DYMOND, Jonathan, *Oaths: their moral character and effects. extracted from 'Essays on the Principles of Morality'* (Dublin, 1852, 4th ed.)
EDGEWORTH, Maria, *Castle Rackrent* (London, 1801)
EDGEWORTH, Maria, *The Absentee* (London, 1809)
EDGEWORTH, Maria, *Ennui* (London, 1809)
EDGEWORTH, Maria, *Ormond* (London, 1817)
Ellen Hanley or the true history of the Colleen Bawn Trial (Dublin, 1910)
ELMES, John, *Quakerism Exposed ... sermon at St. John's Church, Limerick 20 Mar. 1842* (Limerick, 1842)
ELRINGTON, Charles R., *Remarks on the reply of JKL to the Charge of the Archbishop of Dublin* (Dublin, 1827)
ELRINGTON, Charles R., *A Sermon, preached at the consecration of Thomas Lord Bishop of Limerick in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, on 8 Oct. 1820* (Dublin, 1820)
ELRINGTON, Charles R., *The Unprofitableness of Sinful Pleasures* [Dublin, c.1844]
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *Appendix, in answer to the Strictures of Dr Doyle* (Dublin, 1827)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *2nd Appendix, in answer to the Reply of Dr Doyle* (Dublin, 1828)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Ferns* (Dublin, 1824)

ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *A Charge delivered at the visitation in June 1827* (Dublin, 1827)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *Correspondence between the Earl of Mountcashell and the Bishop* (Dublin, 1830)
[ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns)], *An Inquiry whether the Disturbances in Ireland have Originated in Tithes* (London, 1823)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *Miscellaneous Observations on JKL's letter* (Dublin, 1824)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *Observations on JKL's Letter to the Marquis Wellesley ... by S.N.* (Dublin, 1824)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *Reflections on the appointment of Dr Milner as the political agent of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland* (Dublin, 1809)
[ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns)], *Thoughts on the Principles of Civil Government, and their foundation in the law of nature. by S.N.* (Dublin, 1793)
ELRINGTON, Thomas (Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns), *The Unbelief of Jews no argument against the truth of Christianity. Preached in two parts in the chapel of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1807)
[EMPSON, William], 'Political and Vested Rights', *Edinburgh Review* 53 (June 1831), 502-44
[EMPSON, William], 'Principles of belief and expectation as applied to miracles', *Edinburgh Review* 52 (Jan. 1831), 388-98
[EMPSON, William], 'Providential and Prophetical Histories', *Edinburgh Review* 50 (Jan. 1830), 287-344
FARNHAM, Lord, *The Substance of a Speech Delivered by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Farnham, at a Meeting held in Cavan on 20 Jan. 1828, for the Purpose of Promoting the Reformation in Ireland* (Dublin, 1828)
FARNHAM, Lord, *A statement of the Management of the Farnham Estates* (Dublin, 1830)
FISHER, Joseph (snr), *A Diary of Religious Experiences by Joseph Fisher ... with observations on Election and Reprobation* (York, 1820)
FISHER, Joseph (jnr), *The Case of Ireland, being an examination of the Treaty of Union between Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1863)
FISHER, Joseph (jnr), *How Ireland May be Saved* (London, 1862)
FISHER, Lydia Jane (née Leadbeater), *Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry, in the year 1845* (Dublin, 1847)
FISHER, Thomas (ed.), *The Juvenile Magazine*, published at Ballytore School - vol 1:Limerick, 1814; vols 2-3: Dublin, 1815)
FOLEY, Daniel, *Missionary Tour through the South and West of Ireland undertaken for the Irish Society* (Dublin, 1849)
[FORSTER, Charles], *Lines Sacred to the Memory of Lucy youngest daughter of Major-General Richard Bourke ...* (London, [1822])
FORSTER, Charles, *National Education Inseparable from Religion. a sermon* (London, 1839)
FORSTER, Charles and E. Penny, *'Perilous Times'; or, rationalism in the church* (London, 1857)
FRENCH, F., *The Question, Are the Government Entitled to the Support of the Irish Liberal Members at the Present Crisis?* (London, 1839)
FRY, Elizabeth and Joseph Gurney, *Report addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Respecting their Late Visit to that Country* (London, 1827)
FULTON, H. (Chaplain of Castlereagh, New South Wales), *Strictures upon a Letter lately written by R. Therry, Esquire ... to E. Blount, Esq.* (Sydney, 1833)
FURNELL, Michael, *Rules and Regulations ... of the North-Munster Provincial Grand Lodge ... of free and accepted masons ... 12 July 1842* (Limerick, 1847)
GABBETT, Daniel, *The Charter Party; or, articles of agreement of the Tontine Buildings Company of the City of Limerick; with a list of the subscribers' names* (Limerick, 1808)
GAHAN, William, *Sermons and Moral Discourses ... with a preface by J.W. Doyle* (Dublin, 1825) 2 vols
GALE, Peter, *An Inquiry into the Ancient Corporate System of Ireland, and Suggestions for its Immediate Restoration and General Extension* (London, 1834)
'General Bourke's intended journey across the Andes, from the Pacific to the Atlantic side of South America', *Australian Magazine* (Jan. 1838), 50-2
GISBORNE, Thomas, *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain, resulting from Their Respective Stations, Professions, and Employments* (London, 1795, 3rd ed.) 2 vols
GODKIN, James, *Education in Ireland: its history, institutions, system, statistics and progress* (London, 1862)

GODKIN, James, *Ireland and her Churches* (London, 1867)
GORMAN, Peter, *Report of the Proceedings under a Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer in the Counties of Limerick and Clare in ... May and June 1831* (Limerick, 1831)
GRADY, Thomas, *The Nosegay; being the third letter of the country post-bag from the man to the monster* (Dublin, 1816, 2nd ed. [1815])
GRAY, S., *The Happiness of States* (London, 1819)
GREGG, T.D., *Protestant Ascendancy Vindicated, and National Regeneration, through the Instrumentality of National Religion, Urged* (Dublin, 1840)
HALL, SC. and A.M., *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character* (London, 1841-3) 3 vols
HAMPDEN, R.D., *An Essay on the Philosophical Evidences of Christianity* (London, 1827)
HAMPDEN, R.D., 'The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology', *The Bampton Lectures for 1833* (London, 1837, 2nd ed.)
[HARRIS, Alexander], *Settlers and Convicts ... By an Emigrant Mechanic* (Melbourne, 1964 [London, 1847])
[Hayes], *A Poetical Satire on the Corporation and Other Sordid Citizens* by Oliver Twist (Limerick, n.d. [1820])
[Hayes], *Continuation of Poetical Satire on the Limerick Corporation and Other Sordid Citizens* by Oliver Twist (Limerick, n.d. [1820])
HAZLITT, William, *The Spirit of the Age* (London, 1825)
HERBERT, J.D., *Irish Varieties for the last fifty years* (London, 1836)
Hints on the Formation of Lending Libraries in Ireland (Dublin, 1824)
HOARE, John, *A Call to Repentance: a sermon, preached in the cathedral church of Limerick, 31 July 1803* (Limerick, 1803)
HOGAN, J. 'Patron Days and Holy Wells in Ossory', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of* Ireland, 12 (1873), 261-81
[HORNE, R.H.], 'Review of H. Brougham's *Discourse of Natural Theology* (1835) and Related Works', *Westminster Review* 23, 333-362
HORTON, R. Wilmot, *Correspondence upon Some Points Connected with the Roman Catholic Question* (London, 1829)
HORTON, R. Wilmot, *An Enquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism*, 2nd-4th series (London, 1830) 2 vols
HORTON, R. Wilmot, *Lectures on Statistics and Political Economy ... delivered at the London Mechanics Institution in 1830 and 1831* (London, 1832)
HOWARD, John, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales...* (London, 1792, 4th ed.)
HUME, David, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (London, 1779)
HUME, David, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding* ed. L.A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1957, 2nd ed.)
HUME, David, *The History of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1754)
HUME, David, *Natural History of Religion* ed. A.T.W. Colver (Oxford, 1976)
HUNTER, Thomas, *Reflections Critical and Moral on the letters of the late Earl of Chesterfield* (London, 1776)
INGLIS, H.D., *A Journey Throughout Ireland, During the Spring, Summer, and Autumn of 1834* (London, 1834)
Intermarriages of the children of the Catholic Church with Romanists and Professors of all other false systems of religion, forbidden by the Holy Scriptures ... (Limerick, 1842)
Ireland, its evils, and their remedy; for the present and the future: being a letter, by a magistrate of Clare to ... the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Limerick, 1846)
IREMONGER, Frederic, *Dr. Bell's system of instruction, broken into short questions and answers for the use of masters and teachers in national schools* (London, 1825, 5th ed.)
IREMONGER, Frederic, *Questions for the different elementary books used in national schools* (London, 1826, 5th ed.)
The Irishman's Treasure, a harmony of the four gospels, in the Munster vernacular Irish, with the English version and Douay, in parallel columns (Canter: Limerick, 1833 [1831])
IRVING, Edward, *For Missionaries After the Apostolical School: a series of orations* (London, 1825)
IRVING, Edward, 'Signs of the Times, and the Characteristics of the Church', *Morning Watch* 1 (1829), 641-66
JEBB, Bishop John, *An Attempt to Prove that the Nature and Attributes of the Deity, cannot be sufficiently demonstrated by human reason, to render revelation unnecessary* Downes Prize Essay, Trinity College Dublin (Dublin, 1799)
JEBB, Bishop John, *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Limerick...* (Dublin, 1823)

JEBB, Bishop John, *Early Religious Training, the source of domestic virtue, and national improvement. a sermon ... in behalf of the Female Orphan-House* (Dublin, 1822)
JEBB, Bishop John, *The Excellency of the Spirit of Benevolence* (Dublin, 1773)
JEBB, Bishop John, *The Peculiar Character of the Church of England, as distinguished both from other branches of the Reformation, and from the modern Church of Rome* (Dublin, 1815) Reprinted as, *A Tract for all Times, but most eminently for the present* ed. F. Hyshe (London, 1839)
JEBB, Bishop John (ed.), *Piety Without Asceticism, or the Protestant Kempis* (London, 1837 [1831])
JEBB, Bishop John, *Practical Theology* (London, 1830) 2 vols
JEBB, Bishop John, *A Sermon, preached at the funeral of the Rev. W.D. Hoare, in the Cathedral Church of Limerick, on Wednesday 29 October 1823* (Cork, 1823)
JEBB, Bishop John, *Sermons &c.*, (London, 1815)
JEBB, Bishop John, *A Speech (in defence of the Church of Ireland)* ... ed. Richard Jebb (jnr), (London, 1868 [1824])
JEBB, Rev. John [jnr.], *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* (London, 1843)
JEBB, Rev. John [jnr.], *The Divine Economy of the Church* (London, 1840)
JEBB, Rev. John [jnr.], *The Rights of the Irish Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland considered on fundamental principles, human and divine* (London, 1868)
JEBB, Richard [jnr.], *A Report of the case of ... R.D. Hampden* (London, 1849)
[JEFFREY, Francis], 'Prison Discipline' *Edinburgh Review* 30 (Sept. 1818), 463-86
[JEFFREY, Francis], 'Education of the Poor' *Edinburgh Review* 30 (Sept. 1818), 486-502
JENKINS, R.L., *Universal Education. a lecture delivered ... on 21 Nov. 1839 in the lecture hall of the Mechanics' school of Arts, Sydney, together with the proceedings of the meeeting held on the same occasion ...* (Sydney, 1839)
KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, James, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes of Manchester in 1832* (Manchester, 1832)
KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, James, *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England* (London, 1839)
KIRWAN, Walter B. [Bishop of Killala], *Discourse on Religious Innovations and Letter to a Friend in Galway on Why He Quit the Roman Catholic Church* (Dublin, 1787)
KNOX, Alexander, *Free Thoughts Concerning a Separation of the People called Methodists* (London, 1785)
KNOX, Robert, *The Races of Men. a philosophical inquiry into the influence of race over the destinies of nations* (London, 1862, 2nd ed.)
LANCASTER, Joseph, *Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrial classes of the community: containing a short account of its present state, hints towards its improvement, and a detail of some practical experiments conducive to that end* (London, 1805, 3rd ed.)
LANG, John Dunmore, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales*, (London, 1837, 2nd ed.)
LANG, John Dunmore, *Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia* (London, 1845)
LAURENCE, Richard K. (Archbishop of Cashel), *A Charge, delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Cashel and Emly, at the Primary Visitation, in September 1822* (Dublin, 1822)
LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry), *The Design of a Law, for promoting the Pacification of Ireland* (Dublin, 1834)
LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry), *Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Cloncurry, to the Most Noble the Marquis of Downshire, on the conduct of the Kildare-Street Education Society, and the Employment of the Poor* (Dublin, 1826)
LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry), *A Letter to the Duke of Leinster, on the Police and Present State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1822)
[LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry)], *Observations on the Grand Jury Laws, of Ireland ... by an Old Grand Juror* (Cork, 1817)
[LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry)], *Suggestions on the Necessity, and on the best mode of levying assessments for local purposes in Ireland* (Dublin, 1831)
[LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry)], *Thoughts on the Projected Union between Great Britain and Ireland* (Dublin, 1797) - reprinted as appendix to Cloncurry's *Personal Reminiscences*
LECKY, W.E.H., *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1892, new ed.) 5 vols
LECKY, W.E.H., *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (Dublin, 1861 ed.; London, 1912 ed.)

Lectures on the Irish Corporation Act as applicable to Limerick (Limerick, 1841)
LENIHAN, Maurice, *Limerick; its history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil, and military* (Cork, 1967 [1866])
LEWIS, George Cornewall, *On Local Disturbances in Ireland, and on the Irish Church Question* (London, 1836)
[LISTER, T.H.], 'The State of the Irish Church', *Edinburgh Review* 61 (1835), 483-522
LONGFIELD, Mountifort, *Lectures on Political Economy* (Dublin, 1834)
LONGFIELD, Mountifort, *Four Lectures on Poor Laws* (Dublin, 1834)
LONGFIELD, Mountifort, *Three Lectures on Commerce and One on Absenteeism* (Dublin, 1846)
MACARTHUR, James, *New South Wales, Its Present State and Future Prospects* (London, 1837)
MACARTHUR, James and Roger Therry, *Speeches of Macarthur and Therry ... at Camden, 6 February 1843* (Sydney, 1843)
MACARTHUR, James and W.C. Wentworth, *Speeches ... on the ... Resumption of Transportation, 1850* (Sydney, 1850)
[MCCULLOUGH, J.R.], 'Absenteeism', *Edinburgh Review* 42 (Nov. 1825), 54-76
MCCULLOUGH, J.R., *Principles of Political Economy: with a sketch of the rise and progress of the science* (London, 1830, 2nd ed.)
MCKENNA, Michael, *Federalism Illustrated; and the integrity of the British Empire ... address to Lord Clonclurry* (Dublin, 1847)
[MACLEAY, Alexander], *Correspondence with His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B. and Other Documents Relative to the Removal of Alexander M'Leay, Esq. from the Office of Colonial Secretary of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1838)
MCNEILE, Hugh, *The Famine a Rod of God; its provoking cause, its merciful design* (Liverpool, 1847)
MAGEE, William (Archbishop of Dublin), A *Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation 24 Oct. 1822; including a Letter to His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin ... by 'JKL'* (Dublin, 1822)
MAGEE, William (Archbishop of Dublin), *Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of the Atonement and the Sacrifice* (Dublin, 1816 [1801], 4th ed.)
[MALKIN, B.H.], Review of D. Brewster, *The Life of Sir Isaac Newton* (1831), *Edinburgh Review* 56 (1832), 1-37
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Killaloe, at the Primary Visitation, 3 Aug. 1820* (Dublin, 1820)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Killaloe... 25 July 1821* (Dublin, 1821)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *A Churchman's Apology, or Clerical Pledges with Reference to National Education in a Justificatory Letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Peel* (Dublin, 1844)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *Episcopal jurisdiction asserted ... a charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Down and Connor* (Dublin, 1834)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *The Female Character ...* (Dublin, 1821)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *History of the Church of Ireland, from the Revolution to the Union of the Churches of Ireland and England, 1801* (London, 1840) 2 vols
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *The Laws of the Church, the churchman's guard against romanism and puritanism. Two charges* (Dublin, 1842)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *Letter to Lord Melbourne on whether the Church of Rome agrees with the Church of England in all the fundamentals of christianity* (London, 1836)
MANT, Richard (Bishop of Killaloe), *The Visible Church of Christ; the United Church of England and Ireland a true and sound part of it* (Dublin, 1829)
MARTINEAU, Harriet, *Illustrations of Political Economy: Ireland* (London, 1832)
MASSY, Godfrey, *An Introductory Essay prefixed to the Secret History of Romanism* (Dublin, n.d. [c.mid-1820s])
MERIVALE, Herman, *Five Lectures on the Principles of a Legislative Provision for the Poor in Ireland* (London, 1838)
MERIVALE, Herman, *Lectures on Colonization and the Colonies* (London, 1841; 1861, 2nd ed.)
MILLER, George, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History* (Dublin, 1816-28; 4 vols, 1832; 2 vols, 1849)
MITCHEL, John, *Irish Political Economy* (Dublin, 1847)
MITCHEL, John, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Dublin, 1873 [1859])
MONSELL, J.S., *Cottage Controversy or Dialogues Between Thomas and Andrew on the Church of Rome* (Limerick, 1839, 2nd ed.)
[MOORE, Thomas], *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the celebrated Irish chieftain. with some account of his ancestors. written by himself* (Paris, 1824)

MOORE, Thomas, *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion* (London, 1833)
MUDIE, James, *The Felonry of New South Wales* (London, 1837)
MUDIE, James, *Vindication of James Mudie and John Lamach from certain reflections on their conduct contained in letters addressed to them respectively though the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales by order of H.E. Governor Bourke relative to the treatment by them of their Convict Servants ...* (Sydney, 1834)
NAPIER, Sir Joseph, *England or Rome, Which Shall Govern Ireland? a reply to the letter of Lord Monteagle* (Dublin, 1851, 2nd ed.)
O'BRIEN, James T., *Attempt to Explain and Establish the Doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone in Ten Sermons on the Nature and Effect of Faith* (Cambridge, 1833)
O'BRIEN, James T., *Irish Education Question* (Dublin, 1852)
O'BRIEN, James T., *Tractarianism: its present state and the only safeguard against it* (Dublin, 1850)
O'BRIEN, William Smith, *Thoughts Upon Ecclesiastical Reform* (Limerick, 1833)
O'BRIEN, William Smith, *'To Solitude Confined': the Tasmanian journal of William Smith O'Brien 1849-1853* ed. Richard Davis (Dublin, 1996)
O'CONNELL, Daniel, *A Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon* (Dublin, 1843)
O'REILLY, Bernard, *John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam: his life, times, and correspondence* (New York and Cincinnati, 1890) 2 vols
[O'SULLIVAN, Rev. Mortimer], *Captain Rock Detected. by 'a Munster Farmer'* (London, 1824)
O'SULLIVAN, Mortimer, *Reasons for Declining to be Connected with the System of National Education* (Dublin, 1841)
OUSELEY, Gideon, *Calvinism-Arminianism. God's word and attributes in harmony, being an affectionate attempt to promote union among Christians* (Dublin, 1830)
OUSELEY, Gideon, *Mr Ouseley's enquiries to Rev. Mr. Thayer, Roman Catholic Missionary* (Limerick, 1814, 2nd ed.)
OUSELEY, Gideon, *The Substance of a Letter to the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary* (Limerick, 1813, 2nd ed.)
OWEN, Robert, *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity* (Bethany, 1829)
OWEN, Robert, *Report of the Proceedings at the Several Public Meetings, Held in Dublin* (Dublin, 1823)
OWEN, Robert, *Statements, Showing the Power that Ireland Possesses to Create Wealth Beyond the Most Ample Supply of the Wants of its Inhabitants* (London, 1823)
PALEY, William, *Paley's Moral Philosophy, with annotations* ed. Richard Whately (London, 1859)
PALEY, William, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (London, 1811, 19th ed.)
PALEY, William, *A View of the Evidences of Christianity in Three Parts with annotations by Richard Whately DD* (London, 1859)
[PARNELL, Henry], 'Catholic Emancipation - power of the Pope - divided allegiance of the Catholics', *Edinburgh Review* 42 (Nov. 1825), 125-63
[PARNELL, Henry], 'Civil Affairs in Ireland', *Edinburgh Review* 43 (Feb. 1826), 461-96
PERCEVAL, Dudley Montagu, *The Church Question in Ireland. speech of the late right hon. Spencer Perceval,13 May 1805. with an appendix applying the same to the questions of 1843* (Edinburgh and London, 1844)
PERCEVAL, Dudley Montague, *Quietus Optabilissimus: or, the nature and necessity of real securities for the United Church, with a liberal and lasting settlement of the Catholic Question* (London, 1829)
PHELAN, William, *The Bible, not the Bible Society, being an attempt to point out that mode of disseminating the scriptures, which would most effectually conduce to the security of the established Church and the peace of the United Kingdom* (Dublin, 1817)
[PHELAN, William], *The Case of the Church of Ireland Stated in a Letter to the Marquis Wellesley and a Reply to J.K.L. by 'Declan'* (Dublin, 1823)
PHELAN, William, *The Catholic Doctrine of Tradition as opposed to that of the Church of Rome* (Dublin, 1829)
PHILIP, John, *Necessity of Divine Influence* (London, 1813)
PHILIP, John, *Researches in South Africa ...* (London, 1828)
PHILLPOTTS, Henry (Bishop of Exeter), *Letters to Charles Butler ... with remarks on some parts of the evidence of Dr Doyle before the committees of the Houses of Parliament* (London, 1826)
PLUNKETT, J.H., *The Australian Magistrate* (Sydney, 1835)
PLUNKETT, J.H., *Brief Summary of the Law of Landlord and Tenant* (Sydney, 1840)
PLUNKETT, J.H., *Magistrate's Pocketbook* (Sydney, 1859)

POWELL, Baden, *Rational Religion Examined: or, remarks on the pretensions of unitarianism; especially as compared with those systems which professedly discard reason* (London, 1826)
POWELL, Baden, *State Education considered with reference to prevalent misconceptions on religious grounds* (London and Oxford, 1840)
POWELL, Baden, *Tradition Unveiled: or, an exposition of the pretensions and tendency of authoritative teaching in the Church* (London, 1839)
The Preaching of Laymen Considered ... by J.N.D. (Limerick, 1839)
PRENDERGAST, John P., *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (London, 1996 facsimile [1865])
PRIM, J.G.A. 'Olden popular pastimes in Kilkenny', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2 (1853), 333-4
PRIOR, Thomas, *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke* (London, 1824, 1st ed.)
'The Question' [Catholic Emancipation] *Shortly Considered, in a letter to Thomas Spring Rice. by a Catholic Barrister* (London, 1827)
Quinbus Flestrim, the man mountain ... the late Limerick election (Limerick, n.d. [1830])
Reflections on the Parable of the Tares, comprehending answers to some objections to the Church of England (Limerick, 1814)
Remarks on the late Miracle addressed to Dr Doyle (Dublin, 1823, 4th ed.)
Remarks on the Ministry of Women (Limerick, 1815, 2nd ed. [Warrington, 1808])
Report of a meeting, for the purpose of explaining the objects of the Mont de Piete, or Charitable Pawn Office (Limerick, 1836)
RICARDO, David, *On Protection to Agriculture* (London, 1822, 4th ed.)
RICE, Stephen Spring, *Irish Crime: a letter to Alexander Beresford Hope Esq.* (Dublin, 1863)
RICE, Thomas Spring, *An Inquiry into the Effects of the Irish Grand Jury Laws* 2nd ed. (London, 1815)
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Appropriation of Church Property', *Edinburgh Review* 60 (Jan. 1835), 483-519
[RICE, Thomas Spring], *Catholic Emancipation Considered on Protestant Principles* (London, 1827)
RICE, Thomas Spring, *Church in the Colonies* (London, 1853)
[RICE, Thomas Spring], *Considerations on the Present State of Ireland, and on the best means of improving the condition of its inhabitants. by an Irishman* (London, 1822)
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Distress of the manufacturing districts - causes and remedies', *Edinburgh Review* 77 (Feb. 1843), 190-227
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Education of the Irish poor', *Edinburgh Review* 42 (Nov. 1825), 197-224
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Ireland', *Edinburgh Review* 57 (April 1833), 248-79
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Irish tithe system', *Edinburgh Review* 63 (April 1836), 156-97
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Italian economists', *Edinburgh Review* 50 (April 1833), 248-79
RICE, Thomas Spring, *Letter ... to the ... Archbishop of Dublin* [Richard Whately] *on the Ecclesiastical Tithes Act* (London, 1851)
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Ministerial plan of education - Church and Tory misrepresentations', *Edinburgh Review* 70 (Oct. 1839), 149-80
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'The Ministry and the late session', *Edinburgh Review* 78 (Oct. 1843)
[RICE, Thomas Spring], 'Poor laws in Ireland, *Edinburgh Review* 70 (Apr. 1834), 227-61
RICE, Thomas Spring, *Speech of the Right Honourable Thomas Spring Rice, at a public meeting of the electors of the town of Cambridge, 26th June, 1832* (Cambridge, 1832)
RICE, Thomas Spring, *Speech ... on the Repeal of the Union with Ireland* (London, 1834)
RICE, Thomas Spring (2nd Baron Monteagle), *Liberal Policy in Ireland* (London, 1885)
ROCHE, James, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays by an Octogenarian* (Cork, 1850)
ROCHE, William, *Lectures on the Irish Corporation Act as applicable to Limerick* (Limerick, 1841)
[Roche, William], *Ireland Vindicated; or, reflections upon the measures taken and now taking in Ireland, to prevent the general agitation of the Question of Repeal of the act uniting England with Ireland; and upon the answer returned by Spring Rice, esq, MP to the Address of the Cordwainers of Limerick, requesting him to present their petition to the House of Commons for a repeal of that act. most respectfully addressed to Earl Grey, by a True Whig* (London, 1831).
RUSDEN, G.W., *National Education* (Melbourne, 1853)
RUSSELL, Lord John, *Essay on the British Constitution* (London, 1823)

RUSSELL, Lord John, *Essays on the Rise and Progress of the Christian Religion in the West of Europe* (London, 1873)
SANDWICH, H., *A Reply to Lord John Russell's Animadversions on Wesleyan Methodism* (London, 1830)
SCOTT, George, *Irish Society's Missions at Doon, Dingle, Ventry and Dunurlin: letter to the Ven. Archdeacon of Derry* (Dublin, 1854)
SCOTT, Walter, *Waverley, or 'tis Sixty Years Since* (London, 1829 ed.)
SENIOR, N.W., *Two Lectures on Population, to which is Added a Correspondence Between the Author and the Rev. T.R. Malthus* (London, 1829)
SENIOR, N.W., *A Letter to Lord Howick, on a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor; Commutation of Tithes, and a Provision for the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy* (London, 1831, 2nd ed.)
[SENIOR, Nassau W.], 'The relief of Irish distress in 1847 and 1848', *Edinburgh Review* 79 (1849), 221-68
SENIOR, Nassau W., *Remarks on Emigration, with the Draft of a Bill* (London, 1831)
SHACKLETON, Ebenezer, *Thoughts on Reading the Hon. John P. Vereker's Paper on Absenteeism: a paper read before the Dublin Statistical Society ...18 March 1850* (Dublin, 1850)
SHEAHAN, T. *'Articles' of Irish Manufacture; or, Portions of Cork History* (Cork, 1833)
SOCIETY for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, *The Schoolmaster's Manual recommended for the regulation of schools* (Dublin, 1825)
Some Brief and Serious Reasons why the people called Quakers do not pay Tithes and other ecclesiastical demands (Dublin, 1841, 5th ed. [1768])
SOUTHEY, Robert and Charles Cuthbert, *The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell: comprising the history of the rise and progress of the system of moral tuition* (London, 1844) 3 vols
STANHOPE, Philip (Earl of Chesterfield), *The Accomplished Gentleman: or, principles of politeness, and of knowing the world ... the œconomy of human life* (Limerick, 1807)
Strictures on millenarianism (Limerick, 1839)
STURGE, Joseph, *The Horrors of the Negro Apprenticeship System* (London, 1837)
[STURGE, Joseph and Thomas Harvey], *A reply to 'Letters to Joseph Sturge' ... by the authors of 'The West Indies in 1837'* (London, 1838)
STURGE, Joseph and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837 ...* (London, 1837)
Supplement to the Roman Catholic Expositor and Friend of Ireland, published under the direction of the Society for Promoting Religious Inquiry in Ireland (Dublin, 1825)
TAYLOR, Henry, *Autobiography of Henry Taylor 1800-1875* (London, 1885)
THERRY, Roger, *An Appeal on Behalf of the Roman Catholics of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1833)
THERRY, Roger, *An Explanation of the Plan of the Irish National Schools ...* (Sydney, 1836)
[THERRY, Roger], *Observations on the "Hole and Corner Petition" in a letter to the Rt. Hon. Edward G. Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, by an Unpaid Magistrate* (Sydney, 1834)
THERRY, Roger, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales and Victoria. With a supplementary chapter on transportation and the ticket-of-leave system* (London, 1863)
THERRY, Roger, *Speech ... Election for County of Camden* (Sydney, 1836)
THOMPSON, Richard (ed.), *Report of the Proceedings at the National Banquet held at the Prince of Wales Theatre, Sydney ... 17 July 1856* (Sydney, 1856)
TODD, William Gouan, *The Conversion of Ireland: a sermon, preached in the parish church of Kilkeedy, Limerick, on St Patrick's Day 1844* (Limerick, 1844)
TOWNLEY, Charles G., *A Brief Memoir of Charlotte Townley, by her husband* (Limerick, 1839)
TUTHILL, J.V., *The Limerick Election* [of 1817], (Limerick, n.d. [1818])
ULLATHORNE, William Bernard, *The Devil is a Jackass: being the dying words of the autobiographer, William Bernard Ullathorne 1806-1889* ed. Leo Madigan (Bath, 1995)
ULLATHORNE, William Bernard, *A Few Words to the Reverend Henry Fulton, and his Readers; with a glance at the Archdeacon* (Sydney, 1833)
ULLATHORNE, William Bernard, *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* (Liverpool, 1837)
ULLATHORNE, William Bernard, *The Horrors of Transportation* (London, 1837)
ULLATHORNE, William Bernard, *Reply to Judge Burton on the State of Religion in the Colonies* (Sydney, 1840)
WAKEFIELD, Edward Gibbon, *An account of Ireland; or, a tour in the southern and western parts of that country in the year 1805* (London, 1806) 2 vols
WENTWORTH, W.C., *A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia* (London, 1824) 2 vols

WENTWORTH, W.C., *Australasia. A poem written for the Chancellor's Medal at the Cambridge Commencement, July 1823* (London, 1823)
WHATELY, Richard, *Charges and other Tracts* (London, 1836)
WHATELY, Richard, *The Christian's Duty with respect to the Established Government and the Laws considered in two Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1821)
WHATELY, Richard, *Dr Paley's Works: a lecture* (London, 1859)
WHATELY, Richard, *The Duty of Christians to Diffuse Religious Instruction* (London, 1832)
WHATELY, Richard, *The Duty of Those Who Disapprove the Education of the Poor on Grounds of Expediency, as well as of those who approve it, pointed out in a sermon preached at Halesworth, 7 Oct. 1830* (London, 1830)
[WHATELY, Richard], *Easy Lessons on Money Matters for the use of young people* (London, 1833)
WHATELY, Richard, *Elements of Logic* (London, 1844 revised ed. [1827])
WHATELY, Richard, *Elements of Rhetoric* ed. Charlotte Downey and Howard Coughlin (New York, 1991 [1846])
WHATELY, Richard, *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy* (London, 1832)
WHATELY, Richard, *Introductory Lessons on Mind*, (Boston, 1859)
[WHATELY, Richard], *Lessons on the Truth of Christianity: being an appendix to the fourth book of lessons* (Dublin, 1846)
[WHATELY, Richard], *Letters on the Church: by an episcopalian* (Dublin: 1826)
WHATELY, Richard, *Remarks on Transportation and on a Recent Defence of the System* (London, 1834)
WHATELY, Richard, *Reply of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin to the address of the clergy of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough on the Government Plan for National Education in Ireland* (London, 1832)
WHATELY, Richard, *Thoughts on the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1858)
WHATELY, Richard, *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments* (London, 1832)
WHATELY, Richard, *Thoughts on the Sabbath* (London, 1830)
WHATELY, Richard, *The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters of Religion, being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1822. to which are added five sermons before the University of Oxford and a discourse by Archbishop King with notes and appendix* Bampton Lectures (London, 1859, 4th ed. [1822])
WILBERFORCE, W., *Practical View of the Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes of This Country Contrasted with Real Christianity* (London, 1797)
WILLIAMS, W., *Secondary Punishment Discussed ...* (Sydney, 1834)
WILSON, Daniel, *The Doctrine of Regeneration practically considered: a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at Saint Mary's, on Monday, 24 Feb. 1817* (Oxford, 1817)
WOODS, J., *Notes on Some of the Schools for the Labouring Classes in Ireland* (Lewes, 1841)
WOODWARD, Richard (Bishop of Cloyne), *The Present State of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 1808 [1786])
WYSE, Thomas, *Education Reform, or, the necessity of a national system of education* (London, 1836)
WYSE, Thomas, *Historical Sketch of the late Catholic Association of Ireland* (London, 1829) 2 vols
WYSE, Thomas, *Notes on Education Reform in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century compiled from speeches, letters, &c contained in the unpublished memoirs of the Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, KCB*, ed. Winifred Wyse (Waterford, 1901)
WYSE, Thomas, *The Political Catechism ... constitutional rights and civil disabilities of the Catholics of Ireland* (London, 1829)
WYSE, Thomas, *Speech on Irish Education* (Dublin, 1835)

F) DIARIES, COLLECTIONS OF LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, SPEECHES ETC.

ARNOLD, Thomas, *Life and Correspondence* ed. A.P. Stanley (London, n.d., 6th ed.)
ARNOLD, Thomas, *Miscellaneous works* (London, 1845)
ASPINALL, A., *Three Early Nineteenth Century Diaries* (London, 1952)
BENTHAM, Jeremy, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* ed. J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart (London, 1970)
BROUGHAM, Henry, *Collected Works* (London and Glasgow, 1855-1861) 11 vols

BURKE, Edmund, *Correspondence between the year 1744 and his decease in 1797* ed. Earl Fitzwilliam and Richard Bourke (London, 1844) 4 vols
BURKE, Edmund, *Writings and Speeches* ... general editor Paul Langford (Oxford, 1981-) 6 vols to date
BUXTON, Thomas Fowell, *Memoirs* ed. Charles Buxton (London, 1848)
CARTER, T.T., *Harriet Monsell: a memoir* (London, 1884)
Correspondence, Despatches, and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh ed. Marquess of Londonderry (London, 1848-53) 12 vols
CHALMERS, Thomas, *Collected Works* (Glasgow, 1835-41) 25 vols
CLIFFORD, Angela (ed.), *'Godless Colleges' and Mixed Education in Ireland: extracts from the speeches and writings of Thomas Wyse, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Davis, et al.* (Belfast, 1992)
COCKSHUT, A.O.J., *Religious Controversies of the Nineteenth Century: selected documents* (London, 1966)
COPLESTON, Edward, *Remains; with an introduction by R. Whately* (London, 1854)
CROKER, John Wilson, *Correspondence and Diaries* (London, 1885, 2nd ed.) 3 vols
DE VERE, Aubrey, *Recollections of Aubrey de Vere* (London, 1897)
DICKEY, Brian (ed.), *Politics in New South Wales 1856-1900* (Melbourne, 1969)
DOYLE, Bishop James, *The Life, the Times, and Correspondence of ... J.W. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin* ed. William John Fitzpatrick (Dublin, 1880, new ed.) 2 vols
EDGEWORTH, Maria, *Maria Edgeworth: Letters from England 1813-1844* ed. Christine Colvin, (Oxford, 1981)
GREVILLE, Charles, *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, from 1837 to 1852* (London, 1885) 3 vols.
HARVEY, W.H., *Memoir ... with selections from his journal and correspondence* ed. Lydia Jane Fisher (née Leadbeater) (London, 1869)
HOLLAND, Henry Richard Vassall Fox, *The Holland House Diaries, 1831-1840* ed. Abraham D. Kreigal (London, 1977)
JAY, Elisabeth (ed.), *Evangelical and Oxford Movements* (Cambridge, 1983)
JEBB, Bishop John, *The Life of John Jebb, DD FRS, Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, with a selection from his letters* ed. Charles Forster (London, 1836) 2 vols
JEBB, Bishop John and Alexander Knox, *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, and Alexander Knox*, ed. Charles Forster (London, 1834) 2 vols
KNOX, Alexander, *Remains* ed. J. Hornby (London, 1834-7) 4 vols
LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry), *Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of ... with Extracts from the Correspondence* (Dublin, 1849)
LAWLESS, Valentin Browne (Lord Cloncurry), *The Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry* ed. William John Fitzpatrick (Dublin, 1855)
LE FANU, W.R., *Seventy Years of Irish Life* (London, 1893)
MADDEN, S., *Memoir of the Life of the late Rev. Peter Roe, with copious extracts from his correspondence, diaries, and other remains* (Dublin, 1842)
MAGEE, William (Archbishop of Dublin), *Works ... with a memoir by Rev. A.H. Kenny* (Dublin, 1842) 2 vols
MAGUIRE, W.A. (ed.), *Letters of a Great Irish Landlord ... 3rd Marquis of Downshire* (Belfast, 1974)
MANT, W.B., *Bishop Mant and his Diocese* (Dublin, 1857)
MASSY, Godfrey, *The Faithful Shepherd: memoir of, with sketches of his times* ed. Dawson Massy (London, 1870, 4th ed. [1855])
MCCULLAGH, W. Torrens (ed.), *Memoirs of the right honourable Richard Lalor Sheil* (London, 1855) 2 vols
O'BRIEN, R. Barry, *Thomas Drummond: life and letters* (London, 1889)
O'CONNELL, Daniel, *Correspondence*, ed. Maurice O'Connell (Dublin, 1968-80) 4 vols
PALEY, William, *Works* (Edinburgh, 1845)
PEEL, Sir Robert, *Memoirs* ed. Lord Mahon and Edward Cardwell (London, 1856-7) 2 vols
PHELAN, William, *Remains, with a Biographical Memoir by John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick*, ed. Bishop John Jebb (London, 1832) 2 vols
PRATT, John H. (ed.), *The Thought of the Evangelical Leaders: notes of the discussions in the Eclectic Society, London during the years 1798-1814* (London, 1856; reprinted Edinburgh 1978)
RITCHIE, John, *The Evidence of the Bigge Reports: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie* (Melbourne, 1971) 2 vols

RUSSELL, Lord John, *Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell* ed. Rollo Russell (London, 1913) 2 vols
RUSSELL, Lord John, *Recollections and Suggestions 1813-1873* (Boston, 1875)
SENIOR, N.W., *Journals, Conversations and Essays relating to Ireland* (London, 1868, 2nd ed.) 2 vols
SIRR, J.D., *A Memoir of Power Le Poer Trench, Last Archbishop of Tuam* (Dublin, 1845)
SOUTHEY, Robert, *Life and Letters of* ed. Charles C. Southey (London, 1850) 6 vols
SOUTHEY, Robert, *New Letters of* ed. Kenneth Curry (New York, 1965) 2 vols
STURGE, Joseph, *His life and work* ed. Stephen Hobhouse (London, 1919)
Taylor, Henry, *Correspondence* ed. Edward Dowden (London, 1888)
THEALE, G.M. (ed.), *Records of Cape Colony* (Cape Town, 1905) 36 vols
ULLATHORNE, William, *Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne with Selections from his Letters* (London, 1891)
WATSON, Frederick (ed.), *Historical Records of Australia* (Sydney, 1914-25)
WELLINGTON, Arthur, Duke of, *Wellington and his Friends: Letters of the 1st Duke of Wellington to Mrs. Arbuthnot, &c.* ed. 7th Duke of Wellington (London, 1965)
WHATELY, Richard, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately* ed. Elizabeth Jane Whately (London, 1875, new ed. [1866])
WILBERFORCE, William, *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce* ed. R.I. and S. Wilberforce (London, 1840) 2 vols
WOODWARD, Henry, *Essays, Thoughts and Reflections and Letters* ed. Thomas Woodward (London, 1864)

III. Secondary Sources

1) Books

AARSLEFF, Hans, *The Study of Language in England 1780-1860* (Princeton, 1983, 2nd ed.)

ABERCROMBIE, Nicholas, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner (eds), *Dominant Ideologies* (London, 1990)

ADAMSON, Ian, *The Identity of Ulster* (Belfast, 1982)

AKENSON, Donald Harmon, *The Church of Ireland: ecclesiastical reform and revolution, 1800-1885* (New Haven, 1971)

AKENSON, Donald Harmon, *The Irish Education Experiment: the National System of education in the nineteenth century* (London, 1970)

AKENSON, Donald Harmon, *The Irish in Ontario* (Montreal, 1984)

AKENSON, Donald Harmon, *A Protestant in Purgatory: Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1981)

AKENSON, Donald Harmon, *Small Differences* (London, Ontario, 1988)

ALOMES, Stephen, *A Nation at Last? the changing character of Australian nationalism 1880-1988* (Sydney 1988)

ANDERSON, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London, 1991, 2nd ed.)

ANDERSON, David M. and David Killingray (eds.), *Policing the Empire: government, authority and control, 1830-1940* (Manchester, 1991)

ANDREWS, E.M., *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian relations during World War I* (Cambridge, 1993)

ANSTEY, R., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810* (London, 1975)

ARENSBERG, Conrad and Solon Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968, 2nd ed.)

ASCH, Ronald G. (ed.), *Three Nations - a common history? England, Scotland, Ireland and British history c.1600-1920* (Bochum, 1993)

ASHCROFT, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (London, 1989)

ATKINSON, Alan, *Camden* (Melbourne, 1988)

ATKINSON, Alan, *James Macarthur* (Melbourne, 1992)

AUCHMUTY, J.J., *Sir Thomas Wyse 1791-1862* (London, 1962)

BAKER, D.W.A., *Days of Wrath: a life of John Dunmore Lang* (Melbourne, 1985)

BARRETT, John, *That Better Country: the religious aspect of life in eastern Australia 1835-1850* (Melbourne, 1966)

BARRY, Jonathan and Christopher Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, society and politics in England 1550-1800* (London, 1994)

BARRY, T.B., Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: essays presented to J.F. Lydon* (London, 1995)

BARTH, Frederick (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Bergen, 1969)

BARTLETT, Thomas, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992)

BAYLY, C.A., *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London, 1989)

BEAMES, M.R., *Peasants and Power: the Whiteboy movements and their control in pre-Famine Ireland* (Brighton, 1983)

BEBBINGTON, D.W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: a history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989)

BECKETT, J.C., *The Anglo-Irish Tradition* (London, 1975)

BECKETT, J.C., *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London, 1966)

BECKETT, J.V., *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986)

BEGLEY, John, *The Diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the present time* (Dublin, 1938)

BELLAMY, Richard (ed.), *Victorian Liberalism: nineteenth-century political thought and practice* (London, 1990)

BENN, Stanley I. and Gerald F. Gaus, *Public and Private in Social Life* (London, 1983)

BENNIS, Ernest H., *Reminiscences of Old Limerick* (Tralee, 1951, 3rd ed.)

BEST, G.F.A. and Derek Beales (eds), *History, Society and the Churches* (Cambridge, 1985)

BEST, G.F.A., *Temporal Pillars* (Cambridge, 1964)

BEW, Paul, *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism 1912-1916* (Oxford, 1994)

BHABA, Homi K., *Nation and Narration* (New York, 1990)

BHABA, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994)
BIAGINI, Eugenio F. (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: liberals, radicals and collective identities in the British Isles 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 1996)
BIAGINI, Eugenio F., *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: popular liberalism in the age of Gladstone 1860-1880* (Cambridge, 1992)
BIAGINI, Eugenio F. AND A.J. Reid (eds), *Currents of Radicalism: popular radicalism, organised labour and party politics in Britain 1850-1914* (Cambridge 1991)
BLACK, R.D. Collison, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question 1817-1870* (Cambridge, 1960)
BLACKSTOCK, Allan, *An Ascendancy Army: the Irish Yeomanry, 1796-1834* (Dublin, 1998)
BLISS, Robert, *Revolution and Empire: English politics and the American colonies in the seventeenth century* (Manchester, 1990)
BOCK, Gisela, Quentin Skinner and Maurizio Viroli (eds), *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge, 1990)
BOLT, Christine and Seymour Drescher (eds), *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform* (Oxford, 1969)
BOLT, Christine, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London, 1971)
BOLTON, F.R., *The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland with particular reference to Bishop Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1958)
BOLTON, G.C., *The Passing of the Irish Act of Union* (Oxford, 1966)
BOULTON, James T., *The Language of Politics in the Age of Wilkes and Burke* (London, 1963)
BOURNE, J.M., *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986)
BOWEN, Desmond, *History and the Shaping of Irish Protestantism* (New York, 1995)
BOWEN, Desmond, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: a study of Protestant-Catholic relations between the Act of Union and Disestablishment* (Dublin, 1978)
BOWEN, Desmond, *Souperism: myth or reality?* (Cork, 1970)
BOWEN, Elizabeth, *Bowen's Court* (London, 1942)
BOWEN, Kurt, *Protestants in a Catholic State: Ireland's privileged minority* (Kingston and Montreal, 1983)
BOWLER, Peter J., *The Invention of Progress: the Victorians and the past* (Oxford, 1989)
BOWLEY, M.E.A., *Nassau Senior and Classical Economics* (London, 1937)
BOYCE, D.George, *Nationalism in Ireland* (London, 1982)
BOYCE, D. George, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland: the search for stability* (Dublin, 1990)
BOYCE, D. George, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* (London and New York, 1993)
BOYCE, D.George (ed.), *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (Dublin, 1988)
BOYCE, D.George and Alan O'Day (eds), *Modern Irish History: revisionism and the revisionist controversy* (London and New York, 1996)
BOYCE, D.George and Alan O'Day (eds), *Parnell in Perspective* (London and New York, 1991)
BOYLAN, Thomas A. and Timothy P. Foley, *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland: the propagation and ideological function of economic discourse in the nineteenth century* (London, 1992)
BRADY, Ciaran (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History: the debate on historical revisionism 1938-1994* (Dublin, 1994)
BRADLEY, Ian, *The Call to Seriousness: the Evangelical impact on the Victorians* (London, 1976)
BRADSHAW, Brendan and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: the making of Britain 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998)
BRENT, Richard, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, religion, and reform 1830-1841* (Cambridge, 1987)
BREUILLY, John, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, 1982)
BREWER, John, *The Sinews of Power: war, money and the English State 1688-1783* (New York, 1989)
BROCKLISS, Laurence and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: the British Isles, 1750-1850* (Manchester, 1997)
BROEKER, Galen, *Rural Disorder and Police Reform In Ireland, 1812-36* (London, 1970)
BROWN, F.K., *Fathers of the Victorians* (Cambridge, 1961)
BROWNE, R.B. (ed.), *The Celtic Cross* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1964)
BRUNDAGE, Anthony, *The Making of the New Poor Law: the politics of inquiry, enactment, and implementation, 1832-1839* (London, 1978)
BRYNN, Edward, *Crown and Castle: British rule in Ireland, 1800-1830* (Dublin, 1978)
BRYNN, Edward, *The Church of Ireland in the Age of Catholic Emancipation* (New York and London, 1982)
BUCKLAND, Patrick, *Irish Unionism* (Dublin, 1972-3) 2 vols

BUCKLEY, David N., *James Fintan Lalor: Radical* (Cork, 1990)
BUCKNER, Phillip A., *The Transition to Responsible Government: British policy in British North America, 1815-1850* (Westport Connecticut, 1985)
BURKE, Helen, *The People and the Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Littlehampton, West Sussex, 1987)
BURROUGHS, Peter, *Britain and Australia 1831-1855: a study in imperial relations and crown lands administration* (Oxford, 1967)
BURROUGHS, Peter, *The Canadian Crisis and British Colonial Policy 1828-1841* (London, 1972)
BURROW, J.W., *A Liberal Descent: Victorian historians and the English past* (Cambridge, 1981)
BURROW, J.W., *Ideas and Institutions in Victorian Britain* (London, 1967)
BURROW, J.W., *Whigs and Liberals: continuity and change in English political thought* (Oxford, 1988)
BUTLER, Judith and Joan Scott (eds), *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York, 1992)
BUTLER, Marilyn, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries. English literature and its background 1760-1830* (Oxford, 1981)
BUTLIN, N.G., *Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia 1810-1850* (Cambridge, 1994),
BYRNE, Paula J., *Criminal Law and Colonial Subject: New South Wales 1810-1830* (Cambridge, 1993),
CAIN, P.J. and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism. I: innovation and expansion 1688-1914* (London, 1993)
CAIRNS, David and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: colonialism, nationalism and culture* (Manchester, 1988)
CALLINCOS, Alex, *Theories and Narratives: reflections on the philosophy of History* (Cambridge, 1995)
CANNADINE, David, *Lords and Landlords: the aristocracy and the towns 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980)
CANNON, John, *Aristocratic Century: the peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1984)
CANNON, John, *Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832* (Cambridge, 1972)
CANNON, S.F., *Science and Culture: the early Victorian period* (New York, 1979)
CANNY, Nicholas, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the atlantic world 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988)
CANNY, Nicholas and Anthony Pagden, *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987)
CAREY, F.P., *Archbishop Murray of Dublin* (Dublin, 1951)
CARROLL, Joe and Pat Tuohy, *Village by Shannon: the story of Castleconnell and its hinterland* (Limerick, 1991)
CASEY, Daniel and Robert Rhodes (eds), *Views of the Irish Peasantry 1800-1916* (Hamden, Conn., 1977)
CASH, John, *Identity, Ideology and Conflict: the structuration of politics in Northern Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996)
CHATTERJEE, Partha, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (London, 1986)
CHUBB, Basil, *The Government and Politics of Ireland* (London, 1982, 2nd ed.)
CLAEYS, Gregory, *Citizens and Saints: politics and anti-politics in early British socialism* (Cambridge, 1989)
CLAEYS, Gregory, *Thomas Paine* (Boston, 1989)
CLARK, J.C.D., *English Society 1688-1832: ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 1985)
CLARK, J.C.D., *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: political discourse and social dynamics in the Anglo-American world* (Cambridge, 1993)
CLARK, Samuel, *Social Origins of the Irish Land War* (Princeton, 1979)
CLARK, Samuel and James S. Donnelly jnr (eds), *Irish Peasants: violence and political unrest 1780-1914* (Madison, Wisc., 1983)
COAKLEY, John and Michael Gallagher (eds), *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin, 1993, 2nd ed.)
COLLEY, Linda, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992)
COLLINI, Stephan, *Public Moralists: political thought and intellectual life in Britain 1850-1930* (Cambridge, 1991)
COLLINI, Stefan, Donald Winch and John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: a study in nineteenth-century intellectual history* (Cambridge, 1983)
COLLS, Robert and Philip Dodd (eds), *Englishness: politics and culture* (London, 1986)
COMERFORD, R.V., *The Fenians in Context: Irish politics and society 1848-82* (Dublin, 1985)

COMERFORD, R.V., M. Cullen, J. Hill and C. Lennon (eds), *Religion, Conflict and Coexistence in Ireland* (Dublin, 1990)
CONNELL, Paul, *Parson, Priest and Master: National education in County Meath, 1824-41* (Dublin, 1995)
CONNOLLY, S.J., R. Houston, and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development, Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995)
CONNOLLY, S.J., *Kingdoms United?* (Dublin, 1998)
CONNOLLY, S.J., *Priests and People in pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845* (Dublin, 1982)
CONNOLLY, S.J., *Religion, Law, and Power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992)
CONNOLLY, S.J., *Religion and Society in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1985)
COOK, S.B., *Imperial Affinities: nineteenth century analogies and exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi, 1993)
COOKSON, J.E., *The Friends of Peace: anti-war liberalism in England, 1793-1815* (Cambridge, 1982)
COOLAHAN, J., *Irish Education, History and Structure* (Dublin, 1981)
CORFIELD, P.J., *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1982)
CORFIELD, P.J. (ed.), *Language, History and Class* (London, 1991)
CORISH, Patrick, *The Irish Catholic Experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985)
CORISH, Patrick (ed.), *A History of Irish Catholicism, vol.5* (Dublin, 1971)
CORSI, Pietro, *Science and Religion: Baden Powell and the Anglican Debate, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 1988)
COSGROVE, A. and D. McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979)
CRAIS, Clifton, *White Supremacy, Black Resistance: the making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape* (Cambridge, 1991)
CRAWFORD, Robert, *Devolving English Literature* (Oxford, 1992)
CRIMMINS, James E., *Religion, Secularization and Political Thought: Thomas Hobbes to J.S. Mill* (London and New York, 1989)
CRIMMINS, James E., *Secular Utilitarianism: social science and the critique of religion in the thought of Jeremy Bentham* (Oxford, 1990)
CROOKSHANK, C.H., *History of Methodism in Ireland* (London, 1885-88) 3 vols
CROSSMAN, Virginia, *Local Government in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994)
CROSSMAN, Virginia, *Politics, Law and Order in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1996)
CROTTY, Raymond, *Irish Agricultural Production* (Cork, 1966)
CULLEN, Louis M., *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1987, 2nd ed.)
CULLEN, Louis M., *The Emergence of Modern Ireland, 1600-1900* (London, 1983, 2nd ed.)
CULLEN, Louis M., *The Hidden Ireland: reassessment of a concept* (Mullingar, 1988)
CULLEN, Louis M. and F. Furet (eds), *Irlande et France XVIIe-XXe siécles: pour une histiore rurale comparée* (Paris, 1980)
CURREY, C., *Sir Frances Forbes: the First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1968)
CURTIN, Nancy J., *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791-1798* (Oxford, 1994)
CURTIN, Philip, *The Image of Africa: British ideas and action 1780-1850* (Madison, Wisc., 1964)
CURTIS, Bruce, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, Ontario, 1988)
CURTIS, L.P., *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian caricature* (Washington and London, 1971)
DALE, Roger (ed.), *Education and the State: politics, patriarchy and practice* (Lewes, 1981) 2 vols
DALY, Mary and David Dickson (eds), *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland* (Dublin, 1990)
D'ALTON, Ian, *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork 1812-1844* (Cork, 1980)
DANN, Otto and John Dinwiddy (eds), *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (London, 1988)
DAVIDOFF, Leonore and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, (London, 1987)
DAVIDSON, Alastair, *The Invisible State: the formation of the Australian State 1788-1901* (Cambridge, 1991)
DAVIE, G.E., *The Social Significance of the Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense* (Dundee, 1973)

DAVIS, David Brion, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, New York, 1975)
DAVIS, David Brion, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, New York, 1966)
DAVIS, Richard, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin, 1987)
DE SERVILLE, Paul, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne Before the Gold Rushes* (Melbourne, 1980)
DEVINE, T.M. (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1989)
DEVINE, T.M. and David Dickson (eds), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850* (Edinburgh, 1983)
DICKINSON, H.T., *Liberty and Property: political ideology in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 1977)
DICKSON, David, *New Foundations: Ireland, 1660-1800* (Dublin, 1987)
DIXON, Robert, *The Course of Empire: neo-classical culture in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Melbourne, 1986)
DONNELLY, J.S. Jnr., *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London, 1975)
DONNELLY, J.S. Jnr., *Landlord and Tenant in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1973)
DONNELLY, J.S. Jnr. and Kerby Miller (eds), *Irish Popular Culture 1650-1850* (Dublin, 1998)
DOYLE, David Noel, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America 1760-1820* (Dublin and Cork, 1981)
DRUDY, P.J. (ed.), *Ireland: land, politics and people* (Cambridge, 1982)
DUMMETT, Anne and Andrew Nichol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others: nationality and immigration law* (London, 1990)
DUNN, John, *Political Obligation in its Historical Context: essays in political theory* (Cambridge, 1980)
DUNN, John, *The Political Thought of John Locke: an historical account of the argument of the 'Two Treatises of Government'* (Cambridge, 1969)
DUNNE, Tom, *The Writer as Witness: literature as historical evidence* (Cork, 1985)
EAGLETON, Terry, Fredric Jameson and Edward Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature* (Minnesota, 1990)
EASTWOOD, David, *Government and Community in the English provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 1997)
EASTWOOD, David, *Governing Rural England: Tradition and transformation in local government* (Oxford, 1994)
EDDY, John J., *Britain and the Australian Colonies 1818-1831: the technique of government* (Oxford, 1969)
EDDY, John and Deryck Schreuder (eds), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their nationalities, 1880-1914* (Sydney, 1988)
ELDRIDGE, C.C. (ed.), *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth-Century* (London, 1984)
ELLIOTT, Marianne, *Partners in Revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (New Haven, 1982)
ELLIOTT, Marianne, *Watchmen in Sion: the Protestant Idea of Liberty* (Field Day Pamphlet, Derry, 1985)
ELLIOTT, Marianne, *Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence* (New Haven, 1989)
ELPHICK Richard and Herman Giloemee (eds), *The Shaping of South African society* (Cape Town, 1988, 2nd ed.)
ELTIS, David and J. Walvin (eds), *The Abolition of the Atlantic Stave Trade* (Madison, Wisc., 1981)
ENGELL, James, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981)
ENGELL, James, *Forming the Critical Mind: Dryden to Coleridge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989)
ENGELS, D. and Shula Marks (eds), *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: state and society in Africa and India* (London, 1994)
EPSTEIN, James, *Radical Expression: political language, ritual and symbol in England, 1790-1850* (New York, 1994)
EVANS, Eric J., *Britain Before the Reform Act: politics and society 1815-1832* (London, 1989)
EVANS, Lloyd and Paul Nicholls (eds), *Convicts and Colonial Society 1788-1868* (Melbourne, 1984, 2nd ed.)
EVANS, R., *The Fabrication of Virtue: English prison architecture 1750-1840* (Cambridge, 1982)
FAGAN, Patrick, *The Catholic Dimension in Eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 1998)
FANON, Franz, *The Wretched of the Earth* trans. Constance Farrington (Harmondsworth, 1967 [1961])

FINN, Margot, *After Chartism: class and nation in English radical politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge, 1993)
FINNANE, Mark (ed.), *Policing in Australia. Historical Perspectives* (Sydney, 1987)
FISH, Stanley, *Is There a Text in This Class? The authority of interpretive communities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980)
FITZPATRICK, David, *Oceans of Consolation: personal accounts of Irish migration to Australia* (Ithaca, New York, 1995)
FITZPATRICK, W.J., *Life and Times of Rev. Dr Doyle* (Dublin, 1861)
FLETCHER, Brian H., *Colonial Australia before 1850* (Melbourne, 1976)
FLETCHER, Brian H., *Ralph Darling: a governor maligned* (Melbourne, 1984)
FOLEY, T.P. and S. Ryder (eds), *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1998)
FONTANA, Biancamaria, *Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society: the Edinburgh Review 1802-1832* (Cambridge, 1985)
FORBES, Duncan, *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (Cambridge, 1975)
FORBES, Duncan, *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952)
FORD, Alan, James McGuire, and Kenneth Milne (eds), *As by Law Established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995)
FOSTER, J.W. (ed.), *The Idea of the Union* (Vancouver, 1995)
FOSTER, R.F., *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988)
FOSTER, S.G., *Colonial Improver: Edward Deas Thomson, 1800-1879* (Melbourne, 1978)
FRAME, Robin, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1990)
FRANCIS, Mark, *Governors and Settlers: images of authority in the British colonies 1820-60* (Cambridge, 1992)
FRASER, Derek (ed.), *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (Leicester, 1982)
FRIEL, Brian, *Translations* (London, 1981)
GAILEY, Andrew, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness: the experience of constructive Unionism 1890-1905* (Cork, 1987)
GALLAGHER, J., G. Johnson, and A. Seal (eds), *Locality, Province, and Nation: Essays on Indian politics, 1870-1940* (Cambridge, 1973)
GANN, L.H. and P. Duignan (eds), *The History and Politics of Colonialism in Africa* (Cambridge, 1969), vol.1
GARNETT, R.G., *Co-operation and the Owenite Socialist Communities in Britain, 1825-1845* (Manchester, 1972)
GARVIN, Tom, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981)
GASCOIGNE, John, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment: science, religion and politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1989)
GASH, Norman, *Aristocracy and People: Britain 1815-1865* (London, 1979)
GASH, Norman, *Mr Secretary Peel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961)
GASH, Norman, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics, 1832-1852* (Oxford, 1965)
GATENS, Moira, *Feminism and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1991)
GAUGHIN, J. Anthony, *The Knights of Glin* (Dublin, 1978)
GAVREAU, Michael, *The Evangelical Century: college and creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal and Kingston, 1991)
GELLNER, Ernest, *Culture, Identity, and Politics* (Cambridge, 1987)
GELLNER, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, New York, 1983)
GIBBON, Peter, *The Origins of Ulster Unionism: the formation of popular Protestant politics and ideology in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Manchester, 1975)
GIBBONS, Luke, *Transformations in Irish Culture* (Cork, 1996)
GILL, C., *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford, 1925)
GILHOOLY, John T., *The Annals of Castleconnell and Ahane since prehistoric times* (Limerick, 1988)
GILLESPIE, Raymond (ed.), *'A Various Country': essays in Mayo history 1500-1900* (Westport, Mayo, 1987)
GILLESPIE, Raymond, *Devoted People: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997)
GILLESPIE, Raymond (ed.), *Galway: history and society* (Dublin, 1996)
GILLIGAN, Carol, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982)
GILROY, Paul, *The Black Atlantic* (London, 1993)
GILROY, Paul, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 1987)
GLASSIE, Henry, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: culture and history of an Ulster community* (1982)
GLEESON, Dermot F., *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* part 1 (1962)

GOLDBERG, S.L. and F.B. Smith (eds), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1988)
GOLDSMITH, M.M., *Private Vices, Public Benefits* (Cambridge, 1985)
GOLDSTROM, J.M., *The Social Content of Education 1808-1870: a study of the working class school reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon, 1972)
GORDON, Barry, *Economic Doctrine and Tory Liberalism* (London, 1979)
GORDON, Barry, *The Economic Problem in Biblical and Patristic Thought* (London, 1989)
GORDON, Barry, *Political Economy in Parliament, 1819-1823* (London, 1976)
GRAHAM, Brian (ed.), *In Search of Ireland: a cultural geography* (London, 1997)
GRAY, Denis, *Spencer Perceval: the Evangelical Prime Minister 1762-1812* (Manchester, 1963)
GRAY, Richard, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (New Haven and London, 1990)
GREGORY, J.S., *Church and State* (Melbourne, 1973)
GRIMES, Seamus and M.A.G. O Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection/An Caidreamh Gael-Astralach* (Dublin, 1989)
GRIMSHAW, Patricia, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation 1788-1990* (Ringwood, Victoria, 1994)
GRIMSHAW, Patricia, Chris McConville and Eileen McEwen (eds), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney, 1985)
GROCOTT, Alan, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches: attitudes of convicts and ex-convicts towards the Churches and clergy in New South Wales from 1788 to 1851* (Sydney, 1982)
GUHA, Ranajit (ed.), *Subaltern Studies: writings on South Asian history and society* 1 (Delhi, 1982)
GUNN, J.A.W., *Beyond Liberty and Property: the process of self-recognition in eighteenth-century political thought* (Kingston and Montreal, 1983)
HAAKONSSEN, Knud, *The Science of a Legislator: the natural jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith* (Cambridge, 1981)
HALEVY, Eli, *The History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century. 3: The Triumph of Reform, 1830-1841* trans. E.I. Watkin (London, 1950, 2nd ed.)
HALL, Catherine, *White, Male and Middle Class: explorations in feminism and history* (Cambridge, 1992)
HALL, Stuart and James Donald (eds), *Politics and Ideology* (Milton Keynes, 1986)
HAMPSHIRE, Stuart (ed), *Public and Private Morality* (Cambridge, 1978)
HARRISON, J.F.C., *The Second Coming: popular millenarianism 1780-1850* (London, 1979)
HARRISON, Richard S., *Irish Anti-War Movements, 1824-1974* (Dublin, 1986)
HARTMANN, B. (ed.), *Formen des nationalen Bewußtseins im Lichte zeitgenössischer Nationalismustheorien* (Munich, 1993)
HARTZ, Louis, *The Foundation of New Societies* (New York, 1964)
HARVEY, C., *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish society and politics 1707-1977* (London, 1977)
HAURY, David A., *The Origins of the Liberal Party and Liberal Imperialism: Charles Buller 1806-1848* (New York, 1987)
HAYNES, Douglas, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India* (California, 1991)
HEATER, Derek, *Citizenship: the civic ideal in world history, politics and education* (London and New York, 1990)
HECHTER, Michael, *Internal Colonialism: the celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966* (Berkeley, 1975)
HEMPTON, David, *Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850* (London, 1984)
HEMPTON, David, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: from the Glorious Revolution to the decline of Empire* (Cambridge, 1996)
HEMPTON, David and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London and New York, 1992)
HENRIQUES, U.R., *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833* (London, 1961)
HEPBURN, A. (ed.) *Minorities in History* (London 1978)
HERLIHY, Kevin (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1997)
HILL, Jacqueline, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997)
HILTON, Boyd, *Corn, Cash, Commerce: the economic policies of the Tory government 1815-1830* (Oxford, 1977)
HILTON, Boyd, *The Age of Atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought* (Oxford, 1988)
HIMMELFARB, Gertrude, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the early industrial age* (London and Boston, 1984)
HIRSCHMAN, Albert, *The Passions and the Interests: arguments for Capitalism before its triumph* (Princeton, 1976)

HIRSCHMAN, Albert, *The Rhetoric of Reaction* (Cambride, Mass., 1991)
HIRST, J.B., *Convict Society and its Enemies* (Sydney, 1983)
HIRST, J.B., *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy: New South Wales 1848-1884* (Sydney, 1988)
HOBSBAWM, Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, 1990)
HOBSBAWM, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983)
HOGAN, Daire and W.N. Osborough (eds), *Brehons, Serjeants and Attorneys: studies in the history of the Irish legal profession* (Dublin, 1990)
HOGAN, Michael, *The Sectarian Strand: religion in Australian history* (Harmondsworth, 1987)
HOGGART, K., *People, Power and Place* (London, 1991)
HOLE, Robert, *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England 1760-1832* (Cambridge, 1989)
HOLMES, Colin, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British society 1871-1971* (Basingstoke, 1988)
HONT, Istvan and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983)
HOPPEN, K. Theodore, *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1984)
HOPPEN, K. Theodore, *Ireland Since 1800: conflict and conformity* (London and New York, 1989)
HOUGHTON, Walter E., *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven, 1957)
HOWE, Anthony, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1984)
HOWE, Anthony, *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (Oxford, 1997)
HOWELL-THOMAS, Dorothy, *Duncannon: reformer and reconciler, 1781-1847* (Norwich, 1992)
HOWSE, Ernest A., *Saints in Politics: the 'Clapham Sect' and the growth of freedom* (London, 1953)
HUDSON, W.D., *Reason and Right: a critical examination of Richard Price's Moral Philosophy* (London, 1970)
HULME, Peter and Francis Barker (eds), *Colonial Discourse/Post-colonial Theory* (Manchester, 1993)
HURLEY, M. (ed.), *Irish Anglicanism 1869-1969* (Dublin, 1970)
HURST, Michael, *Maria Edgeworth and the Public Scene: intellect, fine feeling and landlordism in the age of reform* (London, 1969)
HURT, J.. *Education in Evolution* (London, 1971)
HUSSY, Samuel M., *The Reminiscences of an Irish Land Agent* (London, 1904)
HUTCHINSON, John, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: the Gaelic revival and the making of the Irish nation state* (London, 1987)
HUTCHINSON, John, *Modern Nationalism* (London, 1994)
HYLSON-SMITH, Kenneth, *Evangelicals in the Church of England, 1734-1984* (Edinburgh, 1988)
IGNATIEFF, Michael, *A Just Measure of Pain: the penitentiary in the industrial revolution 1750-1850* (London, 1978)
IGNATIEV, Noel, *How the Irish Became White* (New York and London, 1995)
INGLIS, Tom, *The Moral Monopoly: the Catholic Church in modern Irish society* (Dublin, 1987)
Ireland After the Union, Proceedings of the second joint meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy, London, 1986 (Oxford, 1989)
JACKSON, Alvin, *Colonel Edward Saunderson: land and loyalty in Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1995)
JAMES, F.G., *Ireland in the Empire: 1688-1770* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973)
JAY, E., *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican evangelicalism and the nineteenth-century novel* (Oxford, 1979)
JEBB, Heneage Horsley, *A Great Bishop of One Hundred Years Ago: being a sketch of the life of Samuel Horsley, LLD, formerly Bishop of St David's, Rochester, and St Asaph, and Dean of Westminster* (London, 1909)
JEFFERY, Keith (ed.), *'An Irish Empire?' aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996)
JEFFRIES, Charles, *The Colonial Police* (London, 1952)
JENKINS, Philip, *The Making of a Ruling Class: the Glamorgan Gentry 1650-1790* (Cambridge, 1983)
JENKINS, Terence A., *The Liberal Ascendancy 1830-1886* (London, 1994)
JOHNSTON, David, *The Rhetoric of Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes and the politics of cultural transformation* (Princeton, 1986)
JOHNSTON, J., *Irish Agriculture in Transition* (Dublin, 1951)

JOYCE, Patrick, *Visions of the People: industrial England and the question of class 1848-1914* (Cambridge, 1991)
JUDD, Stephen and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: a history of the diocese* (Sydney, 1989)
KAMENKA, E. and Alice E.S. Tay, *Law and Social Control* (London, 1980)
KEANE, John (ed.), *Civil Society and the State: new European perspectives* (London, 1988)
KEARNEY, Hugh, *The British Isles: a history of four nations* (Cambridge, 1989)
KEARNEY, Richard (ed.), *The Irish Mind; exploring intellectual traditions* (Dublin, 1985)
KEENAN, Desmond, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1983)
KELLY, James, *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish politics in the 1780s* (Cork, 1992)
KELLY, James and Daire Keogh (eds), *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 1998)
KERR, Donal, *Peel, Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846* (Oxford, 1982)
KIERSE, Sean, *The Famine Years in the Parish of Killaloe, 1845-1851* (Killaloe, 1984)
KEOGH, Daire, *The French Disease: the Catholic Church and radicalism in Ireland 1790-1800* (Dublin, 1993)
KIDD, C., *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993)
KING, Hazel, *Richard Bourke* (Oxford, 1971)
KIRK, Neville, *The Growth of Working-Class Reformism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London, 1985)
KNAPLUND, Paul, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847* (Madison, Wisc., 1953)
KNIGHT, Ruth, *Illiberal Liberal: Robert Lowe in New South Wales, 1842-1850* (Melbourne, 1966)
KOMAROFF, J. and J., *From Revelation to Revolution* (New York, 1991)
KYMLICKA, Will, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford, 1989)
LACAPRA, Domick, *Rethinking Intellectual History: texts, contexts, language* (Ithaca, 1983)
LACAPRA, Domick and Steven L. Kaplan (eds), *Modern European Intellectual History: reappraisals and new perspectives* (Cambridge, 1987)
LANDES, J.B., *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1988)
LANGFORD, Paul, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford, 1991)
LARKIN, E., *The Roman Catholic Church and the Creation of the Modern Irish State, 1878-86* (Philadelphia and Dublin, 1973)
LASLETT, Peter and W.G. Runciman (eds), *Philosophy, Politics and Society* 2 (Oxford, 1962)
LASLETT, Peter, W.G. Runciman, and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Philosophy, Politics and Society* 4 (Oxford, 1972)
LAWTON, W.J., *The Better Time to Be: utopian attitudes to society among Sydney anglicans* (Sydney, 1990)
LEACH, E. and S.N. Mukherjee (eds), *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge, 1970)
LEBOW, R.N., *White Britain and Black Ireland; the influence of stereotypes on colonial policy* (Philadelphia, 1976)
LEE, David and Bob Kelly, *Georgian Limerick 1714-1845* (Limerick, 1996)
LEE, Joseph, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Dublin, 1989, 2nd ed.)
LEERSSEN, Joep, *Remembrance and Imagination* (Cork, 1996)
LEERSSEN, Joep, *Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael* (Cork, 1996, 2nd ed.)
LEIGHTON, C.D.A., *Catholicism in a Protestant Kingdom: a study of the Irish ancien régime* (Dublin, 1994)
LEIGHTON, C.D.A., *The Irish Manufacture Movement 1840-1843* (Maynooth, 1987)
LENMAN, Bruce, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialisation: Scotland 1746-1832* (London, 1981)
LENTRICCHIA, F. and T. McLaughlin (eds), *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago, 1995, 2nd ed.)
LEPPER, J. and P. Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of free and accepted Masons of Ireland* (Dublin, 1925) 2 vols
LEVY, S. Leon, *Nassau W. Senior 1790-1864* (Newton Abbot, 1970)
Limerick: a handbook of local history (Limerick, c.1990)
LLOYD, David, *Anomalous States: Irish writing and the post-colonial moment* (Dublin, 1993)
LLOYD, David, *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley, 1987)
LOCKE, John (ed. Peter Laslett), *Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge, 1988, 3rd ed. [1690])
LOUIS, William Roger jnr (ed.), *Imperialism: the Robinson and Gallagher controversy* (Routledge: New York, 1976)

LOVEDAY, P. and A.W. Martin, *Parliament Factions and Parties; the first thirty years of Responsible Government in New South Wales, 1856-1889* (Melbourne, 1966)
LYONS, F.S.L., *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1890-1939* (Oxford, 1979)
LYONS, F.S.L., *Ireland Since the Famine* (London, 1973, 2nd ed.)
LYONS, F.S.L. and R.A.J. Hawkins (eds), *Ireland Under the Union: varieties of tension* (Oxford, 1980)
MCCANN, Phillip (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1977)
MCCONVILLE, Chris, *Croppies, Celts and Catholics: the Irish in Australia* (Melbourne, 1987)
MCCONVILLE, Michael, *Ascendancy to Oblivion: the story of the Anglo-Irish* (London, 1986)
MCCORMACK, W.J., *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1939* (Oxford, 1985)
MCCORMACK, W.J.,*The Dublin Pamphlet War of 1786-88: a biobiography and critical inquiry* (Dublin, 1993)
MCCRACKEN, Donal P. (ed.), *The Irish in Southern Africa 1795-1910* (Durban, 1992)
MCCRACKEN, J.L., *New Light at the Cape of Good Hope: William Porter, the father of Cape Liberalism* (Belfast, 1993)
MACDONAGH, Michael, *Bishop Doyle, 'J.K.L.', a biographical and historical study* (London and Dublin, 1896)
MACDONAGH, Oliver, *O'Connell: The life of Daniel O'Connell 1775-1847* (London, 1990, one volume ed.)
MACDONAGH, Oliver and W.F. Mandle (eds), *Ireland: the Union and its aftermath* (London, 1977)
MACDONAGH, Oliver and W.F. Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia: studies in cultural and political history* (London, 1986)
MACDONAGH, Oliver, *States of Mind: a study in Anglo-Irish conflict* (London, 1983)
MACDONALD, Robert H., *The Language of Empire: myths and metaphors of popular imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester, 1994)
MACDONNELL, Diane, *Theories of Discourse: an introduction* (Oxford, 1986)
MCDOWELL, R.B., *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution 1760-1801* (Oxford, 1979)
MCDOWELL, R.B., *The Irish Administration 1801-1914* (London, 1964)
MCDOWELL, R.B., *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland 1801-1846* (London, 1952)
MCFARLAN, D.M., *Lift Thy Banner: Church of Ireland scenes 1870-1900* (Dundalk, 1990)
MCFARLAND, E.W., *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution: planting the green bough* (Edinburgh, 1994)
MCGRATH, Thomas, *Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin* (Dublin, 1998) 2 vols
MACINTYRE, Alisdair, *After Virtue: a study in moral theory* (London, 1981)
MACINTYRE, Angus, *The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish party, 1830-1847* (London, 1965)
MACINTYRE, Stuart, *A Colonial Liberalism: the lost world of three Victorian missionaries* (Melbourne, 1991)
MACKENZIE, John, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986)
MACKENZIE, John, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1984)
MACLEOD, Roy (ed.), *Government and Expertise: specialists, administrators and professionals, 1860-1919* (Cambridge, 1988)
MACPHERSON, C.B., *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, 1962)
MACHIN, G.I.T., *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830* (Oxford, 1964)
MACHIN, G.I.T., *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977)
MAGUIRE, W.A., *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845: the management of Irish landed estates in the early nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1972)
MALCOLM, Elizabeth, *Ireland Sober, Ireland Free, drink and temperance in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1986)
MALCOLMSON, A.P.W., *John Foster: the politics of Anglo-Irish ascendancy* (Oxford, 1978)
MANDELBAUM, Maurice, *History, Man and Reason: a study in nineteenth-century thought* (Baltimore, 1971)
MANDLER, Peter, *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: Whigs and Liberals 1830-1852* (Oxford, 1990)
MARKS, Shula and Anthony Atmore (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London, 1980)
MARSDEN, Gordon (ed.), *Victorian Values: personalities and perspectives in nineteenth century society* (London, 1990)

MARSHALL, P.J., *'A Free Though Conquering People': Britain and Asia in the eighteenth century* (London, 1981)
MARSHALL, P.J. (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1996)
MARTIN, Ged, *The Bunyip Aristocracy* (Sydney, 1986)
MARTIN, Ged, *The Durham Report and British Policy: a critical essay* (Cambridge, 1972)
MARTIN, R.H., *Evangelicals United: ecumenical stirrings in pre-Victorian Britain 1795-1830* (London, 1983)
MATHER, F.C., *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733-1806) and the Caroline tradition in the later Georgian Church* (Oxford, 1992)
MAUNSELL, Robert George, *History of Maunsell, or Mansell, ...* (Cork, 1903)
MEMMI, Albert, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* trans. Howard Greenfield (London, 1974)
MENDILOW, Jonathon, *The Romantic Tradition in British Political Thought* (London, 1986)
MENDUS, Susan (ed.), *Justifying Toleration: conceptual and historical perspectives* (Cambridge, 1988)
MENDUS, Susan, *Toleration and the Limits of Liberalism* (London, 1989)
MEREDYTH, Denise and Deborah Tyler (eds), *Child and Citizen: genealogies of schooling and subjectivity* (Sydney, 1996)
METCALF, Thomas R., *The New Cambridge History of India III.4: Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995)
MILLER, David W., *Queen's Rebels: Ulster loyalism in historical perspective* (Dublin, 1978)
MILNE, Kenneth, *The Irish Charter Schools, 1730-1830* (Dublin, 1997)
MITCHELL, Austin, *The Whigs in Opposition 1815-1830* (Oxford, 1967)
METCALF, Thomas R., *Ideologies of the Raj: New Cambridge History of India III.4* (Cambridge, 1995)
MILLER, David W. *Queen's Rebels: Ulster loyalism in historical perspective* (Dublin, 1978)
MOLEY, Raymond, *Daniel O'Connell: nationalism without violence* (New York, 1974)
MOLONY, John N., *An Architect of Freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales, 1832-1869* (Canberra, 1973)
MOLONY, John N., *A Soul Came Into Ireland: Thomas Davis, 1814-1845* (Dublin, 1995)
MOODY, T.W. (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence: Historical Studies XI* (Belfast, 1978)
MOORE, D.C. *The Politics of Deference: a study in the mid-nineteenth century English political system* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1976)
MORASH, Chris and Richard Hayes (eds), *Fearful Realities: new perspectives on the Famine* (Dublin, 1996)
MORGAN, Edmund S., *Inventing the People: the rise of popular sovereignty in England and America* (New York, 1988)
MORRIS, R.J., *Class, Sect and Party: the making of the British middle class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990)
MURPHY, Antoin E. (ed.), *Economists and the Irish Economy from the eighteenth century to the present day* (Dublin, 1984)
MURPHY, Ignatius, *The Diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992)
NADEL, George, *Australia's Colonial Culture: ideas, men, and institutions in mid-nineteenth century eastern Australia* (Melbourne, 1957)
NAIRN, Tom, *The Break-up of Britain* (London, 1977)
NAIRN, Tom, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its monarchy* (London, 1988)
NEAL, David, *The Rule of Law in a Penal Colony: law and power in early New South Wales* (Cambridge, 1991)
A New History of Ireland iv. Eighteenth-century Ireland, 1691-1800 ed. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne (Oxford, 1984)
A New History of Ireland v. Ireland Under the Union, I. 1801-70 ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford, 1989)
A New History of Ireland vi. Ireland Under the Union, II. 1870-1921 ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford, 1996)
NEWBOULD, Ian, *Whiggery and Reform, 1830-41: the politics of government* (Stanford, California, 1990)
NEWMAN, Gerald, *The Rise of English Nationalism: a cultural history 1740-1830* (London, 1987)
NEWSOME, David, *The Parting of Friends: a study of the Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (London, 1966)
NICHOLA, F.W. and J.M., *Charles Darwin in Australia* (New York, 1989)
NOLAN, William and Thomas G. McGrath (eds), *Tipperary: History and society* (Dublin 1985)

NORTON, David L., *Democracy and Moral Development* (Berkeley, 1991)
NOWLAN, Kevin, *The Politics of Repeal* (Dublin, 1965)
NOWLAN, Kevin and Maurice R. O'Connell (eds), *Daniel O'Connell: portrait of a radical* (New York, 1985, 2nd ed.)
O'BRIEN, Conor Cruise, *The Great Melody: a thematic biography of Edmund Burke* (London, 1992)
O'BRIEN, D.P., *The Classical Economists* (Oxford, 1975)
O'BRIEN, Gerard, *Anglo-Irish Politics in the Age of Grattan and Peel* (Dublin, 1987)
O'DAY, Alan (ed.), *The Edwardian Age: conflict and stability 1900-1914* (London, 1979)
O'DEA, Michael and Kevin Whelan, *Nations and Nationalisms* (Oxford, 1995)
O'DONNELL, Patrick, *Irish Faction Fighters of the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1975)
O'FARRELL, Patrick, *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian history* (Sydney, 1985, 2nd ed.)
O'FARRELL, Patrick, *England and Ireland Since 1800* (London, 1975)
O'FARRELL, Patrick, *Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish relations 1534-1970* (London, 1971)
O'FARRELL, Patrick, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney, 1987)
O'FLANAGAN, Patrick, Paul Ferguson and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Rural Ireland 1600-1900: modernization and change* (Cork, 1987)
O GAIN, Ríonach Ui, *Immortal Dan: Daniel O'Connell in Irish Folk Tradition* (Dublin, c.1995)
O MUIRI, Réomonn (ed.), *Irish Church History Today* (Armagh, 1991)
O'SHEA, James, *Priests, politics and society in post-Famine Ireland: a study of County Tipperary 1850-1891* (Dublin, 1983)
O'SULLIVAN, Patrick (ed.), *The Irish in the New Communities* (Leicester, 1997)
O'SULLIVAN, Patrick (ed.), *Religion and Identity* (Leicester, 1996)
O'SULLIVAN, Patrick (ed.), *The Meaning of the Famine* (Leicester, 1997)
O'SULLIVAN, Patrick (ed.), *Patterns of Migration* (Leicester, 1992)
O TUATHAIGH, M.A.G. (ed.), *The Emigrant Experience* (Galway, 1991)
O TUATHAIGH, M.A.G., *Ireland Before the Famine 1798-1848* (Dublin, 1990, 2nd ed.)
O TUATHAIGH, M.A.G., *Thomas Drummond and the Government of Ireland, 1835-41* (Dublin, 1978)
OBELKEVICH, Jim, Lyndal Roper and Raphael Samuel (eds), *Disciplines of Faith* (London, 1987)
O'FERRALL, Fergus, *Catholic Emancipation* (Dublin, 1985)
O SÚLLEABHAIN, Séan, *Irish Wake Amusements* (Cork, 1967)
OLDFIELD, Adrian, *Citizenship and Community: civic republicanism and the modern world* (London, 1990)
OLIEN, Diana Davids, *Morpeth: a Victorian public career* (Washington, 1983)
OVERTON, John H., *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-1833* (London, 1894)
OWEN, E.R.J. and R.B. Sutcliffe (eds), *Studies in the theory of imperialism* (London, 1972)
OWEN, R.A.D., *Christian Bunsen and Liberal English Theology* (Montepelier, Vermont, 1924)
PAGDEN, Anthony (ed.) *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1987)
PAGDEN, Anthony, *Lords of All the World: ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven and London, 1995)
PAGDEN, Anthony, *European Encounters with the New World: from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven and London, 1994)
PALMER, Stanley H., *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780-1850* (Cambridge, 1988)
PANAYI, Panikos, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester, 1994)
PARKES, Susan M., *Kildare Place* (Dublin, 1984)
PARRY, Jonathan P., *Religion and Democracy: Gladstone and the Liberal Party 1867-1875* (Cambridge, 1986)
PARRY, Jonathan P., *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 1993)
PATEMAN, Carole, *Feminist Challenges* (Oxford, 1986)
PATEMAN, Carole, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge, 1970)
PATEMAN, Carole, *The Problem of Political Obligation: a critical analysis of Liberal theory* (Oxford, 1985, 2nd ed.)
PATEMAN, Carole, *The Sexual Contract* (Oxford, 1988)
PAUL, Ellen Frankel, *Moral Revolution and Economic Science: the demise of laissez-faire in Nineteenth-Century British Political Economy* (Westport, Connecticut, 1979)
PAULIN, Tom, *Ireland and the English Crisis* (Newcastle, 1984)
PAZ, Denis G., *The Politics of Working-Class Education in Britain, 1830-50* (Manchester, 1980)

PEARSON, Robert and Geraint Williams, *Political Thought and Public Policy in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1984)
PERSSE, Michael D de B Collins, *W.C. Wentworth* (Melbourne, 1972)
PHILIPSON, N.T. and R. Mitchison (eds), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh, 1970)
PHILLIP, J., *A Great View of Things* (Melbourne, 1971)
PHILLIPS, Anne, *Divided Loyalties: dilemmas of sex and class* (London, 1987)
PHILLIPS, Anne, *Engendering Democracy* (London, 1989)
PHILLIPS, Anne (ed.), *Feminism and Equality* (Oxford, 1987)
PHILP, Mark (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge, 1991)
PHILP, Mark, *Godwin's Political Justice* (London, 1986)
PHILPIN, C.H.E. (ed.), *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1987)
PIGGIN, Stuart, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: the social background, motives, and training of British protestant missionaries to India* (Abingdon, 1984)
PITKIN, Hanna Fenichel, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley, 1972, 2nd ed.)
PITTOCK, Murray G.H., *Inventing and Resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (Basingstoke, 1997)
POCOCK, J.G.A., *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1957)
POCOCK, J.G.A., *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine political thought and the atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, 1975)
POCOCK, J.G.A., *Politics, Language and Time: essays on political thought and history* (London, 1972)
POCOCK, J.G.A. (ed.), *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1993)
POCOCK, J.G.A., *Virtue, Commerce, and History: essays on political thought and history, chiefly in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985)
POLE, J.R., *The Gift of Government: political responsibility from the English Restoration to American Independence* (Athens, Georgia, 1983)
PORTER, J.M. and Richard Vernon, *Unity, Plurality and Politics* (London, 1986)
PORTER, Roy, *Mind-forg'd Manacles: a history of madness in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987)
PORTER, Roy (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Oxford, 1992)
PORTER, Roy and Mikulas Teich (eds), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981)
PORTER, Roy and Mikulas Teich (eds), *Romanticism in National Context* (Cambridge, 1989)
PÓIRTÉIR, Cathal, *Famine Echoes* (Dublin, 1995)
PÓIRTÉIR, Cathal (ed.), *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 1995)
POWER, T.P. and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990)
POYNTER, J.R., *Society and Pauperism: English ideas on poor relief, 1795-1834* (London, 1969)
PREST, John, *Liberty and Locality: Parliament, permissive legislation and ratepayers' democracies in the mid-nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1990)
PREST, John, *Lord John Russell* (London, 1972)
PRINGLE, D.G., *One Island, Two Nations? a political geographical analysis of the national conflict in Ireland* (Letchworth, 1985)
QUINLAN, M.J., *Victorian Prelude: a history of English manners 1700-1830* (London, 1965 [1941])
RANDALL, Adrian and Andrew Charlesworth (eds), *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool, 1996)
RAPACZYNSKI, Andrzej, *Nature and Politics: Liberalism in the philosophies of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau* (Ithaca, 1987)
REARDON, Bernard M.G., *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1966)
REARDON, Bernard M.G., *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age: a survey from Coleridge to Gore* (New York, 1980, 2nd ed.)
REGAN, Richard J., *The Moral Dimensions of Politics* (New York, 1986)
REILLY, S.M.P., *Aubrey de Vere: Victorian observer* (Dublin, 1956)
REYNOLDS, J.A., *The Catholic Emancipation Crisis in Ireland, 1823-1829* (New Haven, 1954)
RICE, Duncan C., *The Scots Abolitionists 1833-1861* (London, 1981)
RICHTER, Melvin (ed.), *Political Theory and Political Education* (Princeton, 1980)
ROBBINS, Keith (ed.), *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain* (London, 1993)
ROBBINS, Keith, *Nineteenth-century Britain, England, Scotland, and Wales: the making of a nation* (Oxford, 1995, 2nd ed.)

ROBBINS, Keith (ed.), *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America c.1750-c.1950: essays in honour of W.R. Ward* (Oxford, 1990)
ROBERTS, David, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1979)
ROBERTSON, John (ed.), *A Union for Empire: political thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995)
ROBIN, A de Q, *Charles Perry, Bishop of Melbourne: the challenge of a colonial espiscopate 1847-78* (Nedlands, W.A., 1967)
ROBSON, R. (ed.), *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, essays in honour of G. Kitson Clarke* (London, 1967)
ROCHE, P.J. and B. Barton (eds), *The Northern Ireland Question: myth and reality* (Aldershot, 1991)
ROE, Michael, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia: 1835-1851* (Melbourne, 1965)
ROPER, John and Michael Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions: masculinities in Britain since 1800* (New York, 1991)
RORTY, Richard, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Oxford, 1980)
RORTY, Richard, J.B. Schneewind and Q. Skinner (eds), *Philosophy in History* (Cambridge, 1984)
ROSSELLI, John, *Lord William Bentinck: the making of a Liberal Imperialist 1774-1839* (Berkeley, 1974)
ROSMAN, Doreen M., *Evangelicals and Culture* (London, 1984)
ROTHBLATT, Sheldon, *Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: an essay in history and culture* (London, 1976)
ROWSE, Tim, *Australian Liberalism and National Character* (Melbourne, 1978)
RYAN, Peter, *Redmond Barry: a colonial life 1813-1880* (Melbourne, 1980, 2nd ed.)
SAID, Edward W., *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993)
SAMUEL, Raphael (ed.), *Patriotism: the making and unmaking of British national identity* (London, 1989) 3 vols
SANDERS, Charles Richard, *Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement: studies in S.T. Coleridge, Dr Arnold of Rugby, J.C. Hare, Thomas Carlyle, and F.D. Maurice* (Durham, North Carolina, 1942)
SCALLY, Robert James, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine, and emigration* (Oxford, 1995)
SCHEPER-HUGHES, Nancy, *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics: mental illness in rural Ireland* (Berkeley, 1979)
SCHWARZ, Bill (ed.), *The Expansion of England: race, ethnicity and cultural history* (London and New York, 1996)
SCOTT, James C., *Weapons of the Weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance* (New Haven, 1985)
SENIOR, Hereward, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836* (London and Toronto, 1966)
SHANLEY, Mary Lyndon and Carole Pateman (eds), *Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1991)
SHANNON, Richard, *Gladstone i. 1809-1864* (London, 1984, 2nd ed.)
SHAPIRO, Ian, *The Evolution of Rights in Liberal Theory* (Cambridge, 1986)
SHAW, A.G.L., *Convicts and the Colonies: a study of penal transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australian and other parts of the British Empire* (London, 1966)
SHAW, A.G.L., *Heroes and Villains in History: Darling and Bourke in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1966)
SHAW, G.P., *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton 1788-1853. Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic* (Melbourne, 1978)
SHEEDY, Kieran, *The Clare Elections* (Dublin, 1993)
SHEEHY, Jeanne, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic revival (1830-1930)* (London, 1980)
SHEILS, W.J. and Diana Wood (eds), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish* (Oxford, 1989)
SHINN, T. and R. Whitley (eds), *Expository Science: forms and functions of popularisation* (Dordrecht, 1985)
SIBBETT, R.M., *Orangeism in Ireland and throughout the Empire* (London, n.d. [1939]) 2 vols
SIMMONS, A. John, *Moral Principles and Political Obligations* (Princeton, 1979)
SKINNER, Quentin, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1978) 2 vols
SLEE, Peter, *Learning and a Liberal Education, 1800-1914* (Manchester, 1987)
SMITH, Anthony D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986)
SMITH, Anthony D., *The Ethnic Revival* (Cambridge, 1981)
SMITH, Anthony D., *Theories of Nationalism* (London, 1971)

SMITH, E.A., *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig party 1748-1833* (Manchester, 1975)
SMITH, Olivia, *The Politics of Language 1791-1819* (Oxford, 1984)
SMYTH, W.J. and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland* (Cork,1988)
STANLEY, B., *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Leicester, 1990)
STEWART, Robert, *The Foundation of the Conservative Party* (London, 1978)
SPELLISSY, Sean and John O'Brien, *Limerick: the rich land* (Ennis, 1989)
STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, *Languages of Class: studies in English working class history 1832-1982* (Cambridge, 1983)
STEIN, Peter, *Legal Evolution: the story of an idea* (Cambridge, 1980)
STEPHEN, L., *History of English Thought in the eighteenth century* (London, 1962 [1876]) 2 vols
STEWART, A.T.Q., *A Deeper Silence: the hidden origins of the United Irishmen* (London and Boston, 1993)
STONE, Lawrence (ed.), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London and New York, 1994)
STRAUSS, Erich, *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* (London, 1951)
STURMA, M., *Vice in a Vicious Society: crime and convicts in mid-nineteenth-century New South* Wales (Brisbane, 1983)
SUTHERLAND, G. (ed.), *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government* (London, 1972)
SWIFT , Roger (ed.), *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914*, (London, 1990)
TAMIR, Yael, *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton, 1993)
TAYLOR, Clare, *British and American Abolitionists: an episode in transatlantic understanding* (Edinburgh, 1974)
TAYLOR, Miles, *The Decline of British Radicalism 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995)
TAYLOR, Miles and Jon Laurence (eds), *Party, State and Society: electoral behaviour in modern Britain* (Aldershot, 1996)
THEOBALD, Margorie R. and R.J.W. Selleck (eds), *Family, School and State in Australian History* (Sydney, 1990)
THOMPSON, F.M.L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 1990) 3 vols
THOMPSON, F.M.L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963)
TIERNEY, Mark, *Glenstal Abbey: a historical guide* (Glenstal Abbey, 1990, 2nd ed.)
TOON, Peter, *Evangelical Theology 1833-1856: a response to Tractarianism* (London, 1979)
TOWNSHEND, Charles, *Political Violence in Ireland* (Oxford, 1983)
TUCK, Richard, *Natural Rights Theories: their origins and development* (Cambridge, 1980, 2nd ed.)
TULLOCH, John, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1971 [1885])
TULLY, James (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his critics* (Cambridge, 1988)
TURBERVILLE, A.S., *The House of Lords in the Age of Reform 1784-1837* (London, 1958)
TURLEY, David, *The Culture of English Anti-Slavery, 1780-1860* (London, 1991)
TURNER, Brian S., *Citizenship and Capitalism* (London, 1986)
TYRRELL, Alex, *Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in early Victorian Britain* (London, 1987)
TYRRELL, Ian, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: the Women's Christian Temperence Union in international perspective* (Durham, N. Carolina, 1991)
VAIL, Leroy (ed.), *The Invention of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, 1988)
VANCE, Norman, *Irish Literature: a social history: tradition, identity and difference* (Oxford, 1990)
VANCE, Norman, *The Sinews of the Spirit: the ideal of Christian manliness in Victorian literature and religious thought* (Cambridge, 1985)
VAUGHAN, W.E., *Landlords and Tenants 1848-1904* (Dublin, 1984)
VERNON, James, *Politics and the People: a study in English political culture c.1815-1867* (Cambridge, 1993)
VERNON, Richard, *Citizenship and Order: studies in French political thought* (Toronto, 1986)
VINCENT, John, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party* (London, 1972)
WAHRMAN, Dror, *Imagining the Middle Class: the political representation of class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995)
WALDERSEE, James, *Catholic Society in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Sydney, 1974)
WALKER, David, *Dream and Disillusion: a search for Australian cultural identity* (Canberra, 1976)

WALSH, John, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833: from toleration to tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993)
WALVIN, James and J.A. Mangan (eds), *Manliness and Morality: middle class masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940* (New York, 1987)
WARD, Alan J., *The Irish Constitutional Tradition: responsible government and modern Ireland 1782-1992* (Dublin, 1994)
WARD, John Manning, *Colonial Self-Government: the British experience 1759-1856* (London, 1976)
WARD, John Manning, *James Macarthur: colonial conservative, 1798-1867* (Sydney, 1981)
WASSON, Ellis Archer, *Whig Renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig party, 1782-1845* (New York and London, 1987)
WATERMAN, A.M.C., *Revolution, Economics and Religion: christian political economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge, 1991)
WELCH, Claude, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1972)
WHELAN, Kevin, *The Tree of Liberty: radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity 1760-1830* (Cork, 1996)
WHITE, Hayden, *The Content of the Form: narrative discourse and historical representation* (Baltimore, 1987)
WHITE, Richard, *Inventing Australia: images and identity 1688-1980* (Sydney, 1981)
WHITE, Terence de Vere, *The Anglo-Irish* (London, 1972)
WIGHAM, Maurice J., *Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992)
WILKES, G.A., *The Stockyard and the Croquet Lawn: literary evidence for Australia's cultural development* (Melbourne, 1981)
WILLIAMS, Gwyn, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979)
WILLIAMS, Gwyn, *When was Wales?* (London, 1985)
WILLIAMS, T.D. (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin, 1973)
WILSON, Kathleen, *The Sense of the People: politics, culture and imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge, 1995)
WINCH, Donald, *Classical Political Economy and the Colonies* (London, 1966)
WINCH, Donald, *Malthus* (Oxford, 1987)
WINCH, Peter, *Adam Smith's Politics: an essay in historiographical revision* (Cambridge, 1978)
WOLFFE, John, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991)
WOLFFE, John, *God and Greater Britain: religion and national life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London, 1994)
YARWOOD, A.T., *Samuel Marsden: the great survivor* (Melbourne, 1977)
YEO, Richard, *The Politics and Rhetoric of Scientific Method: historical studies* (Cambridge, 1986)

2) ARTICLES

ALTER, Peter, 'Symbols of Irish Nationalism', *Studia Hibernica* 14 (1974), 104-23

APPIAH, Kwame Anthony, 'Race' in F. Lentricchia and T. McLaughlin (eds), *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago, 1995, 2nd ed.), 274-87

ATKINSON, Alan, 'The Parliament in the Jerusalem warehouse', *Push From the Bush: a bulletin of Social History* 12 (June 1982), 76-104

ATKINSON, Alan, 'Time, place and paternalism: early conservative thinking in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies* 23 (1988), 1-18

AUCHMUTY, J.J., 'The Anglo-Irish influence in the foundation of Australian institutions', *University [of Melbourne] Gazette* (May 1969), 2-8

BAILEY, Peter, '"Will the real Bill Banks please stand up?": towards a role analysis of mid-Victorian working-class respectability', *Journal of Social History* 12 (Spring 1979), 336-53

BARKLEY, J.M., 'The arian schism in Ireland, 1830' in Derek Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Cambridge, 1972), 323-39

BARNARD, T.C., 'Crises of identity among Irish protestants 1641-1685', *Past and Present* 127 (May 1990), 39-83

BARNARD, T.C., 'Reforming Irish manners: the religious societies in Dublin during the 1690s', *Historical Journal* 25 (1982), 805-38

BARNARD, T.C., 'The uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish protestant celebrations', *English Historical Review* 106 (1991), 889-920

BARRY, Ann and K.Theodore Hoppen, 'Borough politics in O'Connellite Ireland: the Youghal poll books of 1835 and 1837', *JCHAS* 83 (1978), 106-46, and 84 (1979), 15-43

BARRY, Jonathan, 'Provincial town culture, 1640-1780: urbane or civic' in Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear (eds), *Interpretation in Cultural History* (London, 1991)

BEALES, Derek, 'Peel, Russell, and reform', *Historical Journal* 17 (1974), 873-82

BECKETT, J.C., 'Burke, Ireland and Empire' in Oliver MacDonagh, W.F. Mandle and Pauric Travers (ed.), *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950* (New York, 1983), 1-13

BERLIN, Isiah, 'Two concepts of liberty' in his *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969), 118-72

BERLIN, Isiah and Bernard Williams, 'Pluralism and liberalism: a reply', *Political Studies* 42 (1994), 306-9

BERNSTEIN, George L., 'Liberals, the Irish Famine and the role of the state', *Irish Historical Studies* 29:116 (1995), 513-36

BEST, G.F.A., 'The Evangelicals and the established church in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1959), 63-78

BEST, G.F.A., 'The protestant constitution and its supporters, 1800-1829', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 8 (1958), 105-27

BEST, G.F.A., 'The religious difficulties of national education in England 1800-1870', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12:2 (1956), 155-73

BLACKSTOCK, Allan F., '"A dangerous species of ally": Orangeism and the Irish Yeomanry', *Irish Historical Studies* 30:119 (1997), 393-405

BOESCHE, Roger C., 'The strange liberalism of Alexis de Tocqueville', *History of Political Thought* 2 (1981), 495-517

BOLTON, G.C., 'The Anglo-Irish and the historians, 1830-1980' in Oliver MacDonagh, W.F. Mandle and Pauric Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950* (New York, 1983), 239-57

BOLTON, G.C., 'The idea of a colonial gentry' *Australian Historical Studies* 13:51 (1972), 319-339

BOOTH, Alan, 'Popular loyalism and public violence in the north-west of England, 1790-1800', *Social History* 8 (1983), 295-314

BOURKE, P.M. Austin, 'The Irish Grain Trade, 1835-48', *Irish Historical Studies* 20:77 (1976), 156-69

BOYCE, D. George, 'Brahmins and carnivores: the Irish historian in Great Britain', *Irish Historical Studies* 25:99 (1987), 225-35

BROSE, Olive, 'The Irish precedent for English church reform: the Church Temporalities Act of 1833', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 7 (1956)

BROWN, Terence, 'The whole protestant community: the making of a historical myth' (Field Day Pamphlet: Derry, 1985)

BROWNE, Pius, 'Godfrey Massy, Vicar of Bruff', *OLJ* 6 (Summer 1981), 30-4

BURROUGHS, Peter, 'Lord Howick and the colonial church establishments', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 25:4 (Oct. 1974), 381-405

CAIN, P.J. and A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas. I. the old colonial system', *Economic History Review* 39 (1986), 501-25
CANNON, S.F., 'Scientists and broad churchmen: an early Victorian network', *Journal of British Studies* 4 (1964) 65-88
CANNY, N.P., 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature, 1580-1750', *Past and Present* 95 (May 1982), 91-116
CARY, Meredith, 'Privileged assimilation: Maria Edgeworth's hope for the Ascendancy', *Eire-Ireland* 26 (1991), 29-37
CHAKRABARTY, D., 'Postcoloniality and the artifice of history: who speaks for "Indian" pasts?' *Representations* 37 (1992), 1-26
CLAEYS, Gregory, 'A utopian Tory revolutionary at Cambridge: the political ideas and schemes of James Bernard 1834-39', *Historical Journal* 25:3 (1982), 583-604
CLOSE, David, 'The formation of a two-party alignment in the House of Commons between 1832 and 1841', *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), 266-77
COLLEY, Linda, 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation 1760-1820', *Past and Present* 102 (Feb. 1984), 94-129
COLLEY, Linda, 'Britishness and otherness: an argument', *Journal of British Studies* 31:4 (1992), 309-29
COLLEY, Linda, 'Whose nation? class and national consciousness in Britain 1750-1830', *Past and Present* 113 (Nov. 1986), 97-117
COLLINI, Stefan, 'The idea of "character" in Victorian political thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 35 (1985), 29-50
CONNELL, K.H., 'The colonization of waste land in Ireland, 1780-1845', *Economic History Review* 2nd series, 3:1 (1950), 44-71
CONWAY, J.K., 'Politics, pedagogy and power', *Daedalus* (1987), 137-52
COAKLEY, John, 'National territories and cultural frontiers: conflicts of principle in the formation of states in Europe', *West European Politics* 5 (1982), 34-49
COAKLEY, John, 'Independence movements and national minorities: some parallels in the European experience', *European Journal for Political Research* 8 (1980), 215-48
COAKLEY, John, 'National minorities and the government of divided societies: a comparative analysis of some European evidence', *European Journal for Political Research* 18 (1990), 437-56
CONNOR, Walker, 'When is a Nation?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13:1 (1990), 92-103
CROSSMAN, Virginia, 'Emergency legislation and agrarian disorder in Ireland, 1821-41', *Irish Historical Studies* 27:108 (1991), 309-23
CUNNINGHAM, H., 'The language of patriotism, 1750-1914', *History Workshop Journal* 12 (Autumn 1981), 8-33
CURTHOYS, Ann, 'Identity crisis: colonialism, nation, and gender in Australian history', *Gender and History* 5:2 (Summer 1993), 165-76
CURTIS, B., 'Preconditions of the Canadian state: educational reform and the construction of a public in Upper Canada, 1837-1846', *Studies in Political Economy* 10 (1983), 103-27
CUSSEN, Robert, 'Caleb Powell, High Sheriff of County Limerick, 1858, sums up his Grand Jury' in Etienne Rynne (ed.), *North Munster Studies* (Thomond Archaeological Society: Limerick, 1967), 401-25
D'ALTON, Ian, 'Cork Unionism: its role in parliamentary and local elections, *Studia Hibernica* 15 (1975), 143-61
D'ALTON, Ian, 'Southern Irish unionism: a study of Cork unionists, 1884-1914', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 23 (Jan. 1973), 71-88
DALY, Mary, 'The economic ideas of Irish nationalism: frugal comfort or lavish diversity?' *Eire-Ireland* 29:4 (1994), 77-100
DALY, Mary, 'The development of the national education system 1831-1840' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History* (Dublin, 1979), 151-63
D'ARCY, Fergus, 'St Patrick's other island: the Irish invasion of Britain', *Eire-Ireland* 28:2 (Summer 1993), 7-17
DAUNTON, Martin, '"Gentlemanly capitalism" and British industry 1820-1914', *Past and Present* 122 (1989), 119-58
DAVIS, Richard W., 'Deference and aristocracy in the time of the Great Reform Act', *American Historical Review* 81 (1976), 532-39
DAVIS, Richard W., 'The strategy of dissent in the repeal campaign 1820-1828', *Journal of Modern History* 38 (1966), 374-93
DEANE, Seamus, 'Civilians and barbarians' (Field Day Pamphlet: Derry, 1983)
DEANE, Seamus, 'Heroic styles: the tradition of an idea' (Field Day Pamphlet: Derry, 1984)

DE BERTIER SAUVIGNY, G., 'Liberalism, nationalism and socialism: the birth of three words', *Review of Politics* 32 (April 1970), 147-66

DIETZ, Mary, 'Context is all: feminism and theories of citizenship', *Daedalus* 116:4 (Fall 1987), 1-24

DONNELLY, J., 'Cork market: its role in the nineteenth-century Irish butter trade', *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971), 130-63

DORAN, C.G., 'Some unpublished records of Cork', *JCHAS* 1a, 51-75

DUIN, Pieter van, 'Ethnicity, race and labour, 1830s-1930s: some Irish and international perspectives', *Saothar* 19 (1994), 86-103

DUNNE, Tom, 'The Gaelic response to conquest and colonization: the evidence of poetry', *Studia Hibernica* 20 (1980), 7-30

DWYER, John, 'Enlightened spectators and classical moralists: sympathetic relations in eighteenth-century Scotland', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15:1-2 (Feb. and May 1991), 96-118

EASTWOOD, David, 'Men, morals, and the machinery of social legislation, 1790-1840', *Parliamentary History* 39 (1994), 190-205

EASTWOOD, David, 'Robert Southey and the meanings of patriotism', *Journal of British Studies* 31 (1992)

ELLIOTT, Marianne, 'The origins and transformation of early Irish republicanism', *International Review of Social History* 23 (1978), 405-28

ELLIS, Stephen, 'Historiographical debate: representations of the past in Ireland: whose past and whose present?' *Irish Historical Studies* 27:108 (1991), 289-308

ELLIS, Stephen, 'Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds of the late Middle Ages', *Irish Historical Studies* 25:97 (1986), 1-18

EPSTEIN, James, 'Understanding the Cap of Liberty: symbolic practice and social conflict in early nineteenth-century England', *Past and Present* 122 (1989), 75-118

FEELEY, Pat, 'The abduction of Honora Goold', *OLJ* 19 (Summer 1986), 10-11

FEELEY, Pat, 'The Rockite uprising in Co. Limerick - 1821', *OLJ* 21 (Autumn 1987), 35-40

FIERING, Norman, 'Irresistible compassion: an aspect of eighteenth-century sympathy and humanitarianism', *Jounal of the History of Ideas* 37 (1976), 195-218

FIFER, D.E., 'The Australian Patriotic Association 1835-1841', *JRAustralian Historical Studies* 73:3 (Dec. 1987), 155-72

FIFER, D.E., 'Man of two worlds: the early career of William Charles Wentworth', *JRAustralian Historical Studies* 70:3 (Dec. 1984), 147-70

FINEGAN, Francis, 'Maurice Lenihan: historian of Limerick', *Studies Magazine* 37:140 (Mar. 1947) reprinted in *OLJ* 19 and 20 (1985-6), four parts

FITZPATRICK, David, 'The disappearance of the Irish agricultural labourer 1841-1912', *IESH* 7 (1980), 66-92

FITZPATRICK, David, 'The geography of Irish nationalism, 1910-1921', *Past and Present* 78 (1982), 133-55

FITZPATRICK, David, '"That beloved country, that no place else resembles": connotations of Irishness in correspondence between Ireland and Australasia, 1841-1915', *Irish Historical Studies* 27:108 (1991), 324-51

FITZPATRICK, David, 'Unrest in rural Ireland', *IESH* 12 (1985), 98-105

FOSTER, Roy, 'Splits and Reactions', Review of Sean Cronin, *Irish Nationalism*, *Times Literary Supplement* 22:8 (July 1988), 813-14

FOSTER, S.G., 'A piece of sharp practice? Governor Bourke and the office of colonial secretary in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies* 16:64 (April 1975), 402-24

FRANCIS, Mark and John Morrow 'After the ancient constitution: political theory and English constitutional writings 1765-1832', *History of Political Thought* 9:2 (Summer 1988), 283-302

FRANCIS, Mark, 'A case of mistaken paternity: the relationship between nineteenth-century liberals and twentieth-century liberal democrats', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 31:2 (1985), 282-99

FRANCIS, Mark, 'The contemplation of colonial constitutions as political philosophy', *Political Science* 40:1 (July 1988), 142-59

GALLAGHER, M., 'How many nations are there in Ireland?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18:4 (April 1995), 715-39

GASCOIGNE, John, 'Anglican latitudinarianism and political radicalism in the late Eighteenth century', *History* 71 (1986), 22-38

GASCOIGNE, John, 'From Bentley to the Victorians: the rise and fall of British Newtonian natural theology', *Science in Context* 2:2 (1988), 215-52

GIBBONS, Luke, 'Race against time: racial discourse and Irish History', *The Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1981)
GILLEY, Sheridan, 'The Catholic church and revolution' in D.G. Boyce (ed.), *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (London and New York, 1988), 157-72
GILLEY, Sheridan, 'Christianity and Enlightenment: an historical survey', *History of European Ideas* 1:2 (1981), 103-21
GILLEY, Sheridan, 'English attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900' in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, 1978), 81-110
GILLEY, Sheridan, 'Nationality and liberty, protestant and catholic: Robert Southey's "Book of the Church"', *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 409-32
GILROY, P. 'Nationalism, history and ethnic absolutism', *History Workshop Journal* 30 (1990), 114-20
GOLDSMITH, M.M., 'Public virtue and private virtues', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9 (1976), 477-510
GOLDSMITH, M.M., 'Regulating anew the moral and political sentiments of mankind: Bernard Mandeville and the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49:4 (Oct.-Dec. 1988), 587-606
GOLDSTROM, J.M., 'Richard Whately and political economy in school books, 1833-38', *Irish Historical Studies* 15:58 (1966), 131-46
GOODMAN, Gordon L., 'Liberal Unionism: the revolt of the Whigs', *Victorian Studies* 11:2 (Dec. 1959), 173-89
GRAHAM, Colin, '"Liminal spaces": post-colonial theories and Irish culture', *Irish Review* 16 (1994), 29-43
GRAY, Peter, 'Potatoes and Providence: British government's responses to the Great Famine', *Bullan: an Irish Studies Journal* 1:1 (Spring 1994), 75-90
GRIBBON, H.D., 'Irish baptists in the nineteenth century: economic and social background', *Irish Baptist Historical Society Journal* 16 (1983-84), 4-18
GRIFFIN, Nicholas J., 'Possible theological perspectives in Thomas Reid's Common Sense Philosophy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41:3 (July 1990), 425-42
GUNN, J.A.W., 'Influence, parties and the constitution: changing attitudes 1783-1832', *Historical Journal* 17 (1974), 301-28
HABERMAS, Jürgen, 'Citizenship and national identity: some reflections on the future of Europe', *Praxis International* 12:1 (1992), 1-19
HALL, Catherine, 'The economy of intellectual prestige: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the case of Governor Eyre', *Cultural Critique* (Spring 1989), 176-96
HALL, Catherine, '"From Greenland's icy mountains ... to Afric's golden sand": ethnicity, race, and nation in mid-nineteenth-century England', *Gender and History* 5:2 (Summer 1993), 212-29
HAMPSHER-MONK, Ian W., 'Civic humanism and parliamentary reform: the case of the Society of the Friends of the People', *Journal of British Studies* 18 (1979), 70-89
HAMPSHER-MONK, Ian W., 'Introduction' in *The Political Philosophy of Edmund Burke* ed. Ian Hampsher-Monk (Harlow, Essex, 1978), 1-43
HAMPSHER-MONK, Ian W., 'Rhetoric and opinion in the politics of Edmund Burke', *History of Political Thought* 9:3 (Winter 1988), 455-84
HANNAN, Kevin, 'Castleconnell', *OLJ* two parts - 15: 23-8; 16: 5-9
HARRISON, Brian, '"A World of Which We Have No Conception": Liberalism and the English temperance Press 1830-1872', *Victorian Studies* 13 (Dec. 1969), 159-80
HARRISON, Richard S., 'Irish Quaker perspectives on the anti-slavery movement', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 56:2 (1991)
HASKELL, Thomas L., 'Capitalism and the origins of humanitarian sensibility', *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), two parts: 339-61; 457-66 and responses by David Brion Davis, John Ashworth, and Haskell, *American Historial Review* 92 (1987), 797-878
HAWKINS, A., 'Parliamentary government and Victorian political parties c.1830-c.1880', *English Historical Review* 104 (1989) 638-69
HAYLEY, Barbara, 'Irish periodicals between the Union and the *Nation*', *Anglo-Irish Studies* 2 (1976)
HAYTON, D., 'Anglo-Irish attitudes: changing perceptions of national identity among the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, ca. 1690-1750', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 17 (1987), 145-57
HEATHORN, Stephen, '"Let us remember that we, too, are English": constructions of citizenship and identity in English elementary school reading books, 1880-1914', *Victorian Studies* 38:3 (1994), 395-427

HEMPTON, David N., 'Evangelicalism and eschatology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31:2, (1980), 179-94
HEMPTON, David N., 'Methodism in Irish society, 1770-1830', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 36 (1986), 117-42
HEMPTON, David N., 'The methodist crusade in Ireland 1795-1845', *Irish Historical Studies* 22:85 (1980), 33-48
HEMPTON, David N., 'Thomas Allen and methodist politics, 1800-1840', *History* 67 (1982), 13-31
HEMPTON, David N. and Myrtle Hill, 'Godliness and good citizenship: evangelical Protestantism and social control in Ulster', *Saothar* 13 (1988), 68-80
HENNESSEY, Thomas, 'Ulster Unionist territorial and national identities, 1886-1893: province, island, kingdom and empire', *Irish Political Studies* 8 (1993), 21-36
HILL, Jacqueline, 'The intelligentsia and Irish nationalism in the 1840s', *Studia Hibernica* 20 (1980), 73-110
HILL, Jacqueline, 'National festivals, the state and "Protestant Ascendancy" in Ireland, 1790-1829', *Irish Historical Studies* 24:93 (1984), 30-51
HILL, Jacqueline, 'The politics of privilege: the Dublin Corporation and the catholic question, 1792-1823', *Maynooth Review* 7 (1982), 17-36
HILL, Jacqueline, 'Popery and protestantism, civil and religious liberty: the disputed lessons of Irish History 1690-1812', *Past and Present* 118 (Feb. 1988), 96-129
HILL, J.R., 'Nationalism and the Catholic church in the 1840s', *Irish Historical Studies* 19:76 (1975), 371-95
HILL, Myrtle, 'Popular protestantism in Ulster in the post-rebellion period, c.1790-1810', *Studies in Church History* 25 (1989), 191-202
HILTON, Boyd, 'Whiggery, religion and social reform, the case of Lord Morpeth', *Historical Journal* 37:4 (1994), 829-59
HIRST, J.B., 'Keeping colonial history colonial: the Hartz thesis revisited', *Australian Historical Studies* 21:82 (April 1984), 85-104
HOPPEN, K. Theodore, 'Politics, the law, and the nature of the Irish electorate 1832-1850', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 746-76
INNES, Joanna, 'Jonathan Clark, social history and England's "ancien régime"', *Past and Present* 115 (May 1987), 165-200; see also Clark's reply: 'On hitting the buffers: the historiography of England's ancien regime. a response', *Past and Present* 117 (Nov. 1987), 195-207
ISAAC, Jeffrey C., 'Republicanism vs. Liberalism? a reconsideration', *History of Political Thought* 9:2, (Summer 1988), 349-77
JACKSON, R.V., 'Luxury in punishment: Jeremy Bentham on the cost of the convict colony in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies* 23:90 (April 1988), 42-59
JAMES, Francis G., 'The aristocracy of Ireland's *ancien régime*', *Eire-Ireland* 26 (1991), 16-28
JENKINS, R.P., 'Witches and fairies: supernatural aggression and deviance among the Irish peasantry', *Ulster Folklife* 23 (1977), 33-56
JOHNSON, R., 'Educational policy and social control in early Victorian Britain', *Past and Present*, 59 (Nov. 1970), 189-208
JUPP, Peter J., 'Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1800-20', *Historical Journal* 10:2 (1967), 183-96
JUPP, Peter J., 'The landed elite and political authority in Britain, ca.1700-1850', *Journal of British Studies* 29 (Jan. 1990), 53-79
JUPP, Peter J. and Stephen A. Royle, 'The social geography of Cork City elections, 1801-30', *Irish Historical Studies* 29:113 (1994), 13-43
KARSTEN, Peter, 'Suborned or subordinate?: the Irish soldier in the British army', *Journal of Social History* 17 (1983), 31-64
KEARNEY, Pat, 'Limerick's campaign for a University: 1838-1845', *OLJ* 26, (Winter 1989), 26-34
KELLY, James, 'The context and course of Thomas Orde's plan of education of 1787', *Irish Journal of Education* 20 (1986), 20-31
KELLY, James, 'The genesis of "Protestant Ascendancy": the Rightboy disturbances of the 1780s and their impact upon Protestant opinion' in G. O'Brien (ed.), *Parliament, Politics and People* (Dublin, 1989), 93-127
KELLY, James, '"The glorious and immortal memory": commemoration and Protestant identity in Ireland 1660-1800', *Royal Irish Academy Proceedings*, 154 (1994), 25-52
KELLY, James, '"A light to the blind": the voice of the dispossessed elite in the generation after the defeat at Limerick', *Irish Historical Studies* 24:96 (1985), 431-62
KENNEDY, Liam, 'Modern Ireland: post-colonial society or post-colonial pretensions?', *Irish Review* 13 (Winter 92/93)

KIBERD, Declan, 'Anglo-Irish Attitudes' (Field Day Pamphlet: Derry, 1984)
KIDD, Colin, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotism', *Historical Journal* 39:2 (1996), 361-82
KING, Hazel, 'The humanitarian leanings of Governor Bourke', *Australian Historical Studies* 10:37 (Nov. 1961), 19-29
KNOWLTON, Steven R., 'The voting behavior of the Independent Irish Party, 1850-59', *Eire-Ireland* 26:1 (Spring 1991), 57-75
KRIEGAL, Abraham D., 'The Irish policy of Lord Grey's government', *English Historical Review* 86 (1971), 22-45
KRIEGAL, Abraham D., 'Liberty and Whiggery in early nineteenth-century England', *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980), 253-78
KRIEGAL, Abraham D., 'The politics of the Whigs in opposition 1834-35', *Journal of British Studies* 7:2 (1968), 65-91
KRIEGAL, Abraham D., 'Whiggery in the age of reform' (review article), *Journal of British Studies* 32:3 (July 1993), 290-8
LACAPRA, Dominick, 'A review of a review', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49:4 (Oct-Dec 1988), 677-87
LAKE, M., 'Colonised and colonising: the white Australian feminist subject', *Women's History Review* 2:3 (1993), 377-86
LARGE, David, 'The House of Lords and Ireland in the age of Peel', *Irish Historical Studies* 9 (1955), 367-70
LARKIN, E., 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *American Historical Review* 80 (1972), 625-52
LASLETT, Peter, 'Introduction' in John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge, 1988, student edition), 3-122
LAWRENCE, Jon and Miles Taylor, 'The poverty of protest: Gareth Stedman Jones and the politics of language - a reply', *Social History* 18 (1993), 1-15
LEBOW, Ned, 'British historians and Irish history', *Eire-Ireland* 8:4 (1973), 3-38
LEE, J.J., 'The dual economy in Ireland, 1800-50', *Irish Historical Studies* 8 (1971), 191-201
LEERSSEN, Joep, 'Anglo-Irish Patriotism and its European context: notes towards a reassessment', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988), 7-24
LEERSSEN, Joep, '"The cracked Lookingglass of a servant": cultural decolonization and national consciousness in Ireland and Africa' in H. Dyserinck and K.U. Sydram (eds), *Europa und has nationale Selbstverständnis. Imagologische Probleme in Literatur, Kunst und Kultur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1988), 103-18
LEERSSEN, Joep, 'Echoes and Images: reflections upon foreign space' in R. Corbey and Joep Leerson (eds), *Alterity, Identity, Image: selves and others in society and scholarship* (Amerdam, 1991), 123-8
LIVESEY, James and Stuart Murray, 'Post-colonial theory and modern Irish culture', *Irish Historical Studies* 30:119 (1997), 452-61
LOCKYER, A., 'Traditions as context in the study of the history of political theory', *Political Studies* 27:2 (1979), 201-17
LOUGHLIN, James, 'The Irish Protestant Home Rule Association and nationalist politics, 1886-93', *Irish Historical Studies* 24:95 (1985), 341-60
LOWRY, Donal, '"A fellowship of disaffection": Irish-South African relations from the Anglo-Boer War to the Pretoriastroika 1902-1991', *Etudes Irlandaises* 17:2 (Dec. 1992), 105-21
LOWRY, Donal, 'Irish settlement and identity in South Africa before 1910', *Irish Historical Studies* 28:110 (1992), 134-49
LOSCO, Joseph, 'Rousseau on the political role of the family', *History of Political Thought* 9:1 (Spring 1988), 91-110
LUBENOW, W.C., 'Irish Home Rule and the great separation in the Liberal Party in 1886: the dimensions of Parliamentary Liberalism', *Victorian Studies*, 26:2 (Winter, 1983), 161-80
LYSAGHT, Paddy, 'Grady's nosegay', *OLJ* 20 (Winter 1986), 11-13
MCCAHILL, Michael W., 'Peerage creations and the changing character of the British nobility 1750-1830', *English Historical Review* 44 (1981), 259-84
MCCORD, Norman, 'Some difficulties of parliamentary reform', *Historical Journal* 10:4 (1967), 376-90
MCCORMACK, W.J., 'Vision and revision in the study of eighteenth-century Irish parliamentary rhetoric', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987), 7-35
MCDOWELL, R.B., 'Ireland in the eighteenth-century British Empire', *Irish Historical Studies* 9 (1974), 49-63

MACDONAGH, Oliver, 'Time's revenges and revenge's time: a view of Anglo-Irish relations', *Anglo-Irish Studies* 4 (1979), 1-19
MCGOWAN, Randall, 'A powerful sympathy: terror, the prison, and humanitarian reform in early nineteenth-century Britain', *Journal of British Studies* 25:3 (July 1986), 312-34
MCGRATH, Thomas, 'The tridentine evolution of modern Irish Catholicism; a re-examination of the 'devotional revolution' thesis' in Réomonn O Muiri (ed.), *Irish Church History Today* (Armagh, 1991), 84-99
MCKERROW, R.E., 'Richard Whately on the nature of human knowledge in relation to the ideas of his contemporaries', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42:3 (July-Sept. 1981), 439-55
MACHIN, G.I.T., 'Resistance to repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1828', *Historical Journal* 22:1 (1979), 115-39
MALCOLMSON, A.P.W., 'Absenteeism in eighteenth-century Ireland', *IESH* 1 (1974), 15-35
MANDLER, Peter, 'Tories and paupers: Christian political economy and the making of the new poor law', *Historical Journal* 33 (1990), 81-103
MARKS, Shula, 'History, the nation and empire: sniping from the periphery', *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990), 111-19
MARSHALL, P.J., 'Empire and authority in the later eighteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15:2 (Jan. 1987), 105-22
MARSHALL, P.J., 'Empire and opportunity in Britain, 1763-75: the Prothero lecture, 1994', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 5 (1995), 111-28
MARSHALL, P.J., Revew of T.R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24:2 (1996), 328-29
METCALF, J.W., 'Governor Bourke - or, the lion and the wolves: a study in political necessity', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 30:1 (1944), reprint
MIDGLEY, Clare, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire' in J. Purvis (ed.), *Women's History, Britain, 1850-1944: an introduction* (London, 1995)
MILLER, David W., 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', *Journal of Social History*, 9 (1975-6), 81-98
MILLER, David W., 'Presbyterans and 'modernisation' in Ulster', *Past and Present* 80 (August 1978), 66-90
MILLER, Kerby, with Bruce Boling and David N. Doyle, 'Emigrants and exiles: Irish cultures and Irish emigration to North America 1790-1922', *Irish Historical Studies* 22:86 (1980), 97-125
MILLER, Kerby, 'No middle ground: The erosion of the protestant middle class in southern Ireland during the pre-Famine era', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 49 (1986), 295-306
MITCHELL, Harvey, 'The changing conditions of freedom: Tocqueville in the light of Rousseau', *History of Political Thought* 9:3 (Winter 1988), 431-53
MITCHELL, L.G., 'Foxite politics and the great reform bill', *English Historical Review* 108 (Apr. 1993), 338-64
MOORE, David C., 'Political morality in mid-nineteenth century England: concepts, norms, violations', *Victorian Studies* 13:1 (Jan. 1969), 5-36
MORGAN, Hiram, 'Empire-building: an uncomfortable Irish heritage', *Linen Hall Review* 10:2 (Autumn 1993), 8-11
MORGAN, Hiram, Review of Nicholas Canny's *Kingdom or Colony*, *International Historical Review* 13:4 (1991), 810-16
MORRELL, J.B., 'Professors Robinson and Playfair, and the *Theophobia Gallica*: natural philosophy, religion and politics in Edinburgh, 1789-1815', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 26 (1971), 43-63
MORRIS, R.J., 'Voluntary societies and British urban elites, 1780-1850', *Historical Journal* 26 (1983), 95-118
MORROW, John, 'Ancestors, legacies and traditions: British idealism in the history of political thought', *History of Political Thought* 6 (1985) 491-504
MORTON, W.L., 'Lord Monck and nationality in Ireland and Canada', *Studia Hibernica* 13 (1973), 77-99
MURPHY, Charlotte, 'Gleanings from the meetings of the corporation of Limerick, 1809-1823', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 18 (1976), 55-60
MURPHY, Ignatius, 'Some attitudes to religious freedom and ecumenism in pre-emancipation Ireland', *Irish Economic Review* 105 (1966)
MURPHY, Maura, 'Municipal reform and the repeal movement in Cork, 1833-1844', *JCHAS* 81 (Jan-Dec 1977), 1-18
MURPHY, Maura, 'Repeal, popular politics, and the Catholic clergy in Cork 1840-50', *JCHAS* 81 (Jan-Dec 1977), 39-48

MURRAY, A.C., 'Agrarian violence and nationalism in nineteenth-century Ireland: the myth of Ribbonism', *IESH* 13 (1986), 56-73
NEWBOULD, I.D.C., 'The emergence of a two-party system in England from 1830 to 1841: roll call and reconsideration', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 5 (1985), 25-31
NEWBOULD, I.D.C., 'Lord Durham, the Whigs and Canada, 1838: the background to Durham's return', *Albion* 8 (1976), 351-71
NEWBOULD, I.D.C., 'Whiggery and the growth of party 1830-41: organisation and the challenge of reform', *Parliamentary History* 4 (1985), 137-56
NEWBOULD, I.D.C., 'Whiggery and the dilemma of reform: liberals, radicals, and the Melbourne administration 1835-9', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 53 (1980), 229-41
NOWLAN, Kevin, 'The meaning of repeal in Irish history' in G.A. Hayes McCoy (ed.), *Historical Studies IV* (London, 1963), 1-17
O'BRIEN, S., 'A Transatlantic community of Saints: the Great Awakening and the first evangelical network, 1735-1755', *American Historical Review* 91:4 (Oct. 1986), 811-32
O BROIN, Leon, 'The trial and imprisonment of O'Connell, 1843', *Eire-Ireland* 8:4 (1973), 39-47
O'CONNOR, Patrick J., 'The promotion of a Limerick linen industry: 1760-1763', *OLJ* 26 (Winter 1989), 18-20
O'FARRELL, Patrick, 'Historians and religious conviction', *Australian Historical Studies* 17 (1976-77), 279-98
O'FARRELL, Patrick, 'Spurious divorce? religion and Australian culture', *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1989), 519-24
O'FERRALL Fergus, '"The Only lever ..?": the Catholic priest in Irish politics, 1823-29', *Studies*, 70:280 (1981), 308-24
O'FLAHERTY, Eamon, 'Ecclesiastical politics and dismantling the penal laws in Ireland 1774-82', *Irish Historical Studies* 26 (1988), 33-50
OFFICER, David, 'Representing War: the Somme Heritage Centre', *History Ireland* 3:1 (Jan. 1995), 38-42
O'GORMAN, Frank, 'Campaign rituals and ceremonies: the social meaning of elections in England 1780-1860', *Past and Present* 135 (1992), 79-115
O'GORMAN, Frank, 'Approaches to Hanoverian society', *Historical Journal* 39:2 (1996), 521-34
Old Limerick Journal 'Australian Edition', 1988: Pat Feeley, 'The establishment, the forces of law and order and the transportation of Rockites', 15-22; David Fitzpatrick, 'Thomas Spring Rice and the Peopling of Australia', 39-49; Hazel King, 'Sir Richard Bourke: his life and work', 23-9; Robert Reece, 'Sir Richard Bourke: Irish and colonial liberal', 54-8
Old Limerick Journal 'Barringtons Edition', 1988: Susan Connolly, 'Health services in Limerick in the early 19th Century', 19-24; Kevin Hannan, 'The 1832 Cholera Epidemic', 48-50; Mark Tierney, 'The Mont de Piete', 51-4; Mark Tierney, 'The origins and early years of Barrington's hospital', 33-40; Mark Tierney, 'Sir Matthew Barrington: 1788-1861', 11-17; Frances Twomey, 'Social conditions and medical services before 1830', 29-32
O'MAHONY, Chris, 'Emigration from the Limerick workhouse 1848-1860', *OLJ* 10 (Spring 1982), 23-6
O'MAHONY, Chris, 'The poor law comes to Limerick', *OLJ* 6 (Summer 1981), 19-21
OMER-COOPER, J.D., 'Colonial South Africa and its frontiers' in John E. Flint (ed.), *Cambridge History of Africa: From c.1790 to c.1870* (Cambridge, 1976), 353-92
O'NEILL, Graham, 'A Look at Captain Rock: agrarian rebellion in Ireland 1815-1845', *Eire-Ireland* 17:3 (1982), 17-34
O TUATHAIGH, Gearoid, 'Gaelic Ireland, popular politics, and Daniel O'Connell', *Galway Archeological Society Journal*, 34 (1974-5), 21-34
OWENS, Gary, 'Hedge school of politics: O'Connell's monster meetings', *History Ireland* 2:1 (1994), 35-40
OWENS, Gary, '"A moral insurrection": faction fighters, public demonstrations and the O'Connellite campaign, 1828', *Irish Historical Studies* 30:120 (1997), 513-41
PAGDEN, Anthony, 'Rethinking the linguistic turn: current anxieties in intellectual history', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49:3 (July-Sept 1988), 519-29
PARRY, Jonathan, 'The state of Victorian political history', *Historical Journal* 26:3 (1983), 469-84
PETLER, D.N., 'Ireland and France in 1848', *Irish Historical Studies* 24:96 (1985), 493-505
PICKERING, Paul, 'Class without words: symbolic communication in the Chartist movement', *Past and Present* 112 (1986), 144-62
PHILLIPS, Anne, 'Democracy and difference: some problems for feminist theory', *Political Quarterly* 63:1 (Jan.-Mar. 1992), 79-90

PHILLIPSON, Nicholas, 'Nationalism and Ideology' in J.N. Wolfe (ed.), *Government and Nationalism in Scotland: an enquiry by members of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1969), 167-88

POCOCK, J.G.A., 'British history: a plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975), 601-28

POCOCK, J.G.A., 'The classical theory of deference', *American Historical Review* 81(1976), 516-23

POCOCK, J.G.A., 'The limits and divisions of British History: in search of the unknown subject', *American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), 311-36

POCOCK, J.G.A., 'The Machiavellian moment revisited: a study in history and ideology', *Journal of Modern History* 53 (Mar. 1981), 49-72

POCOCK, J.G.A., 'Transformations in British political thought', *Political Science* 40:1 (July 1988), 160-78

POCOCK, J.G.A., 'Verbalising a political act: towards a politics of Language', *Political Theory* 1:1 (1973), 27-45

PORTER, Andrew N., '"Commerce and Christianity": the rise and fall of a nineteenth-century missionary slogan', *Historical Journal* 28:3 (1985), 597-621

PORTER, Andrew N., '"Gentlemanly capitalism" and empire: the British experience since 1750?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 18:3 (Oct. 1990), 265-95

PORTER, Andrew N., 'Religion and Empire: British expansion in the long nineteenth century, 1780-1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 20:3 (Oct. 1992), 370-90

POOVEY, Mary, 'Curing the "social body" in 1832: James Phillips Kay and the Irish in Manchester', *Gender and History* 5:2 (Summer 1993), 196-211

PRIM, J.G.A., 'Olden popular pastimes in Kilkenny', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2 (1853), 333-34

PROCHASKA, F.K., 'Women in English philanthropy, 1700-1880', *International Review of Social History* 19 (1974), 426-45

PROUDFOOT, L., 'The management of a great estate: patronage, income and expenditure on the Duke of Devonshire's Irish property, c.1816 to 1891', *IESH* 13 (1986), 32-55

RASHID, Saleem, 'Richard Whately and Christian political economy at Oxford and Dublin', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38:1 (Jan.-Mar. 1977), 147-55

RASHID, Saleem, 'Richard Whately and the struggle for rational christianity in the mid-Nineteenth Century', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47 (1978), 293-331

RIACH, Douglas, 'Daniel O'Connell and American anti-slavery' *Irish Historical Studies* 20:77 (1976), 3-25

RITCHIE, John, 'Towards ending an unclean thing: the Molesworth Committee and the abolition of transportation to New South Wales, 1837-40', *Australian Historical Studies* 17 (1976), 144-64

ROACH, John, 'Liberalism and the Victorian intelligentsia', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 13 (1957), 58-81

ROCHER, Rosane and Michael E. Scorgie, 'A family empire: the Alexander Hamilton cousins, 1750-1830', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 23:2 (1995), 189-210

ROMNEY, Paul, 'From the rule of law to responsible government: Ontario political culture and the origins of Canadian statism', *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1988), 86-119

ROSSITER, A., 'Bringing the margins into the centre: a review of aspects of Irish women's experience from a British perspective' in A. Smyth (ed.), *Irish Women's Studies Reader* (Dublin, 1993), 177-202

RUBINSTEIN, W.D., 'The end of 'old corruption' in Britain 1780-1860', *Past and Present* 101 (Nov. 1983), 55-86

RUSE, M., 'The relationship between science and religion in Britain, 1830-1870', *Church History* 44 (1975), 505-22

SEED, John, 'Unitarianism, political economy and the antinomies of liberal culture in Manchester, 1830-50', *Social History* 7 (Jan. 1982), 1-25

SENIOR, Carl, 'Limerick "slaves" for Jamaica', *OLJ* 19 (Summer 1986), 33-40

SEYMOUR, St John D., 'Two letters re: early Quakerism in Limerick', *Journal of the North Munster Archeological Society* 4 (1916-1919), 112-21

SHAPIN, S., 'Of Gods and Kings: natural philosophy and politics in the Leibniz-Clarke disputes', *Isis* 72 (1981), 187-215

SHAW, George P., 'The promotion of civilization', *JRAustralian Historical Studies* 74:2 (Oct. 1988), 99-111

SIMHONY, Avital, 'Idealist organicism: beyond holism and individualism', *History of Political Thought* 12:3 (Autumn 1991), 515-35
SLOAN, Robert, 'O'Connell's liberal rivals in 1843', *Irish Historical Studies* 30:117 (1996), 47-65
SMITH, Anthony D., 'Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals', *European Journal of Sociology* 25 (1984), 283-305
SMITH, Anthony D., 'The origins of nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13 (1990), 92-103
SMITH, Brendan, 'A county community in early fourteenth-century Ireland: the case of Louth', *English Historical Review* 108 (1993), 561-88
SMYTH, Jim, '"Like amphibious animals": Irish protestants, ancient Britons, 1691-1707', *Historical Journal* 36:4 (1993), 785-97
SOLAR, Peter, 'The Irish butter trade in the nineteenth century: new estimates and their implications', *Studia Hibernica* 25 (1989-90), 134-61
SPILLANE, Milo, 'Mungret agricultural school', *OLJ* 6 (Summer 1981), 26-7
SPRING, David, 'Aristocracy, social structure, and religion in the early Victorian period', *Victorian Studies* 7 (1963), 263-80
SPRING, David, 'Walter Bagehot and deference', *American Historical Review* 81 (1976), 425-31
SPURR, John, '"Rational religion" in Restoration England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49:4 (Oct.-Dec. 1988), 563-85
STANLEY, B., '"Commerce and christianity": providence theory, the missionary movement, and the imperialism of free trade, 1842-1869', *Historical Journal* 26:1 (1983), 71-94
STOKES, G.T., 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement' *Contemporary Review* 67 (1956), 466-72
STOLER, Ann Laura, 'Rethinking colonial categories: European communities and the boundaries of rule', *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 31:1 (1989), 134-61
STUNT, T.C.F., 'Evangelical cross-currents in the Church of Ireland, 1820-1833', *Studies in Church History* 25 (1989), 215-21
STURGIS, James, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11:1 (Oct. 1982), 5-32
STURGIS, James, 'Anglicisation as a theory in Lower-Canadian history 1807-1843', *Bulletin of Canadian Studies* 3:2 (Nov. 1979), 29-53
TAMIR, Yael, 'Two concepts of multiculturalism', *Journal of the Philosophy of Education* 29:2 (1995), 161-79
TAYLOR, Lawrence J., 'The languages of belief: nineteenth-century religious discourse in southwest Donegal', in Marilyn Silverman and P.H.Gulliver (eds), *Approaching the Past* (New York, 1992), 142-75
TAYLOR, Miles, 'John Bull and the iconography of public opinion in England c.1712-1929', *Past and Present* 134 (Feb. 1992), 93-128
TAYLOR, Miles, 'Imperium et Libertas? Rethinking the radical critique of imperialism during the nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 19:1 (Jan. 1991), 1-23
THACKRAY, A., 'Natural knowledge in cultural context: the Manchester model', *American Historical Review* 79:3 (1974), 672-709
THANE, Pat, 'Aristocracy and middle class in Victorian England: the problem of "gentrification"' in A.M. Birke and L. Kettenacker (eds), *Middle Classes, Aristocracy and Monarchy: patterns of change and adaptation in the age of modern nationalism* (Munich, 1989), 93-107
THOMAS, Julian, 'Citizenship and Historical Sensibility', *Australian Historical Studies* 34 (1993), 383-93
THOMPSON, Dorothy, 'Ireland and the Irish in English radicalism before 1850' in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience: studies in working-class radicalism and culture 1830-1860* (London, 1982), 120-51
TODD, Jennifer, 'Irish pluralism in a European perspective', *Etudes Irlandaises* 19:1 (Spring 1994) 155-65
TRAPIDO, Stanley, '"The friends of the natives": merchants, peasants and the political and ideological structure of Liberalism in the Cape 1854-1910' in Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London, 1980), 247-74
TYRRELL, Ian and Michael McGerr, 'American Historical Review Forum', *American Historical Review* 96:4 (Oct. 1991), 1031-72
VANCE, N., 'Celts, Carthaginians and constitutions: Anglo-Irish literary relations, 1780-1820', *Irish Historical Studies* 22:87 (1980), 216-30

VARTANIAN, Aram, 'Necessity or freedom? the politics of an eighteenth century metaphysical debate', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 7 (1978), 153-74
VASOLI, Cesare, '*The Machiavellian moment*: a grand ideological synthesis', *Journal of Modern History* 49 (1977), 661-70
WAHRMAN, Dror, 'National society, communal culture: an argument about the recent historiography of eighteenth-century Britain', *Social History* 17 (1992), 43-72
WALKER, Graham, 'Empire, religion and nationality in Scotland and Ulster before the First World War' in I.S. Wood (ed.), *Scotland and Ulster* (Edinburgh, 1994), 95-115
WARD, Alan J., 'Models of government and Anglo-Irish relations', *Albion* 20:1 (1988), 19-42
WASSON, Ellis Archer, 'The Great Whigs and parliamentary reform, 1809-1830', *Journal of British Studies* 24 (Oct. 1985), 434-64
WASSON, Ellis Archer, 'The spirit of reform, 1832 and 1867', *Albion* 12:2 (1980), 164-74
WATERMAN, A.M.C., 'A Cambridge *via media* in late Georgian Anglicanism', *Journal Ecclesiastical History* 42:3 (July 1991), 419-36
WEDDERBURN, David, 'English Liberalism and Australasian democracy', *Fortnightly Review* new series, 2:1 (July 1976), 43-59
WHELAN, Kevin, 'Catholic mobilisation 1750-1855' in P. Bergeron et L. Cullen (eds), *Culture et Pratiques Politiques en France et en Irland XVIe-XVIIe Siécles: acts du colloque de Marseille 28 septembre - 2 octobre 1988*
WHELAN, Kevin, '"Come all you staunch revisionists": towards a post-revisionist agenda for Irish History', *Irish Reporter* 2 (1991), 23-6
WHYTE, J.H., 'The influence of the Catholic clergy on elections in Ireland', *English Historical Review* 75 (1960), 235-59
WILDE, C.B., 'Hutchinsonianism, natural philosophy and religious controversy in eighteenth century Britain', *History of Science* 18 (1980), 1-24
WILDE, C.B., 'Matter and spirit as natural symbols in eighteenth-century British natural philosophy', *British Journal for the History of Science* 15 (1982), 99-131
WILSON, Kathleen, 'Empire, trade and popular politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain: the case of Admiral Vernon', *Past and Present* 121 (1988), 74-109
WOODCOCK, Michael, 'Educational principles and political thought: the case of James Mill', *History of Political Thought* 1 (1980), 475-89

3) THESES AND UNPUBLISHED WORKS

ACHESON, Alan R., 'The Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland, 1784-1859' (PhD, Queens University Belfast, 1967)
ATKINSON, Alan, 'The Political Life of James Macarthur' (PhD, Australian National University, 1975)
ATKINSON, Alan, 'The Position of John Macarthur and His Family in New South Wales before 1842' (MA, Sydney, 1971)
BYRNE, K.R., '"Mechanics" Institutes in Ireland before 1855' (MEd, University College Cork, 1976)
CASSIRER, Reinhard, 'The Irish influence on the Liberal movement in England 1798-1832, with special reference to the period 1815-32' (PhD, London, 1940)
CLAYTON, H., 'Societies formed to educate the poor in Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century' (MLitt, Trinity College Dublin, 1981)
COSGROVE, John, 'The Educational Aims and Activities of Sir Thomas Wyse (1791-1865)' (PhD, Manchester, 1975)
DEVEAUX, Monique Louise, 'Cultural Pluralism in Liberal and Democratic Thought' (PhD, Cambridge, 1997)
DICKSON, David, 'An Economic History of the Cork Region in the Eighteenth Century' (PhD, University College Dublin, 1977)
DUNNE, Tom, 'Ireland, England and Empire 1868-1886: the ideologies of British political leadership' (PhD, Cambridge, 1976)
EARLS, Maurice, 'The Dublin Press, 1800-50' (PhD, University College Dublin, 1987)
ELBOURNE, Elizabeth, '"To Colonize the Mind": Evangelicals in Britain and the Cape Colony, 1790-1837' (DPhil, Oxford, 1992)
ERVINE, W.J., 'Doctrine and Diplomacy: some aspects of the life and thought of the Anglican Evangelical clergy 1797-1833' (DPhil, Cambridge, 1981)
FORTH, Gordon, 'An Anglo-Irish Family in Australia Felix' (PhD, Monash, 1984)
FOSTER, Steven Glynn, 'Edward Deas Thomson and New South Wales', (PhD, New England, 1975)

GORMLY, Julian, 'Some Aspects of the History of the Anglo-Irish in Australia in the Nineteenth Century' (BA hons, New South Wales, 1984)
GRAY, Peter, 'British Politics and the Ireland Question, 1843-1850' (PhD, Cambridge, 1992)
HARRISON, Richard S., 'Dublin Quakers in Business 1800-1850' (MLitt, Trinity College Dublin, 1987)
HEHIR (now Whelan), Irene, 'New Lights and Old Enemies: the Second Reformation and the Catholics of Ireland, 1800-1835' (MA, Wisconsin, 1983)
HILL, Myrtle, 'Evangelicalism and the Churches in Ulster Society, 1770-1850' (PhD, Queens University Belfast, 1987)
HOLT, John, 'Quakers in the Great Irish Famine' (MA, Trinity College Dublin, 1967)
IRVING, T.H., 'The Development of Liberal Politics in New South Wales, 1844-1855' (PhD, Sydney, 1962)
LIECHTY, Joseph, 'Irish Evangelicalism, Trinity College Dublin, and the mission of the Church of Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century' (PhD, St Patrick's College Maynooth, 1987)
LYONS, Mark, 'Aspects of sectarianism in New South Wales, c.1880' (PhD, Australian National University, 1972)
MCCONVILLE, Chris, 'Emigrant Irish and Suburban Catholic: faith and nation in Melbourne and Sydney, 1851-1933' (PhD, Melbourne, 1984)
MCCORD, James Newell Jnr., 'Lord Holland and the Politics of the Whig Aristocracy (1807-27): a study in aristocratic liberalism' (PhD, Johns Hopkins, 1968)
MCMULLAN, G., 'Change from within - change from without. The interaction of doctrine, politics and economics in the experience of the Church of Ireland, 1830-1880' (PhD, Geneva Theological College, 1987)
MARTIN, R.H., 'The pan-evangelical impulse in Britain 1795-1830: with special reference to four London societies' (DPhil, Oxford, 1974)
MURPHY, Charlotte, 'The Life and Politics of Thomas Spring Rice, 1st Baron Monteagle of Brandon, 1790-1866' (MA, University College Cork, 1991)
NOCKLES, Peter B., 'Continuity and Change in Anglican High Churchmanship in Britain 1792-1850' (DPhil, Oxford, 1982)
O'CONNOR, D.P., 'History and Functions of the Limerick Chamber of Commerce 1807 to 1902' (unpublished ms, 1948)
O'FERRALL, Fergus, 'The Growth of Political Consciousness in Ireland, 1823-47: a study of O'Connellite politics and political education' (PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1978)
O'HALLORAN, Clare, 'Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: antiquarian debate on the Celtic past in Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth century' (PhD, Cambridge, 1991)
O'MAHONY, S.C., 'Monteagle Emigrant Letters' (conference paper, Australia and Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, 22 April 1987)
RENNIE, Ian, 'Evangelicalism and English public life, 1823-1850' (PhD, Toronto, 1962)
SLOAN, R.C., 'Irish issues and Unionist MPs 1832-1846' (PhD, Glasgow, 1982)
SPENCE, Joseph, 'The Philosophy of Irish Toryism, 1833-52' (PhD, London, 1991)
TAYLOR, Miles, 'The Freeborn Englishman and the British Empire, c.1830-1860' (seminar paper, Imperial History Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, London, March 1987)
WEBBY, Elizabeth, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', (PhD, Sydney, 1971)
WHELAN, Irene, 'Evangelical religion and the polarisation of Protestant-Catholic relations in Ireland, 1780-1840' (PhD, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990)
YEO, R., 'Natural Theology and the Philosophy of Knowledge in Britain, 1819-1869' (PhD, Sydney, 1977)

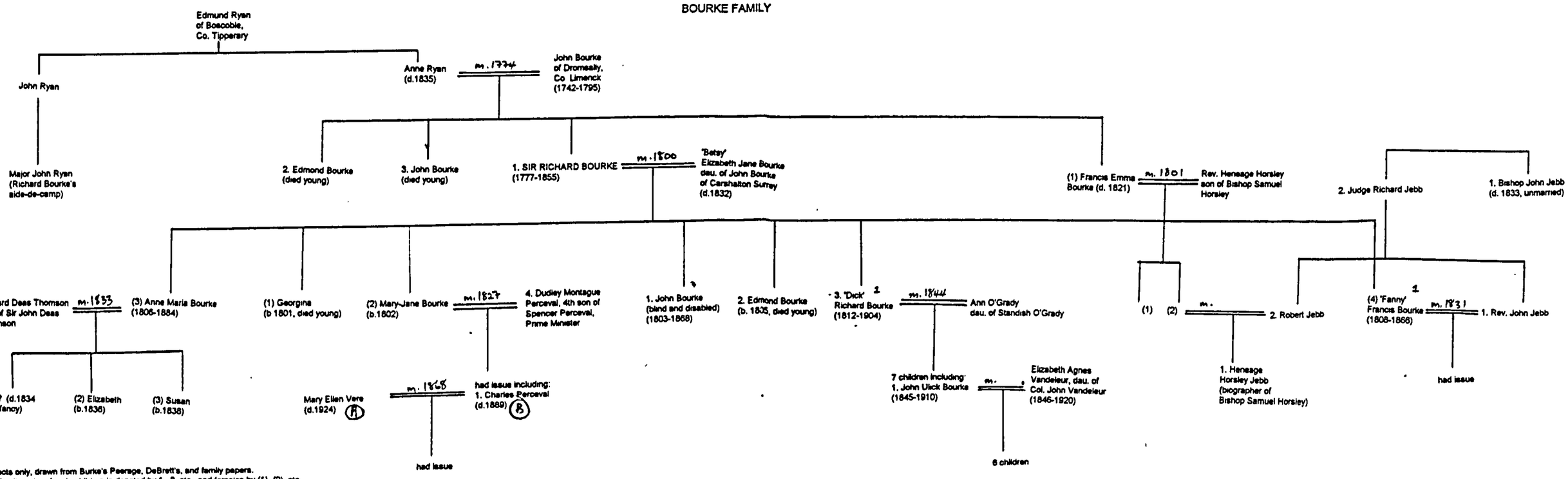
4) REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC WORKS

BOYLAN, Henry, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin, 1988 ed.)
COFFEY, Hubert William and Marjorie Jean Norgan, *Irish Families in Australia and New Zealand* (Melbourne, 1983)
CRONE, J.S., *A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin, 1937)
DOD, C.R., *Electional Facts from 1832 to 1852* (London, 1853)
EAGER, Alan R., *A Guide to Irish Bibliographical Material* (Library Association, 1964)
HARRISON, Richard, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1997)
HAYES, Richard, *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilization* (Dublin, 1978)
HERBERT, R. (ed.), *Catalogue of the Museum and Reference Library* (Limerick, 1940)
HERBERT, R. (ed.), *Limerick Printers and Printing; Part One of the Local Collection in the City of Limerick Public Library* (Limerick, 1942)
HOUGHTON, Walter E. (ed.), *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (Toronto, 1966-88) 3 vols

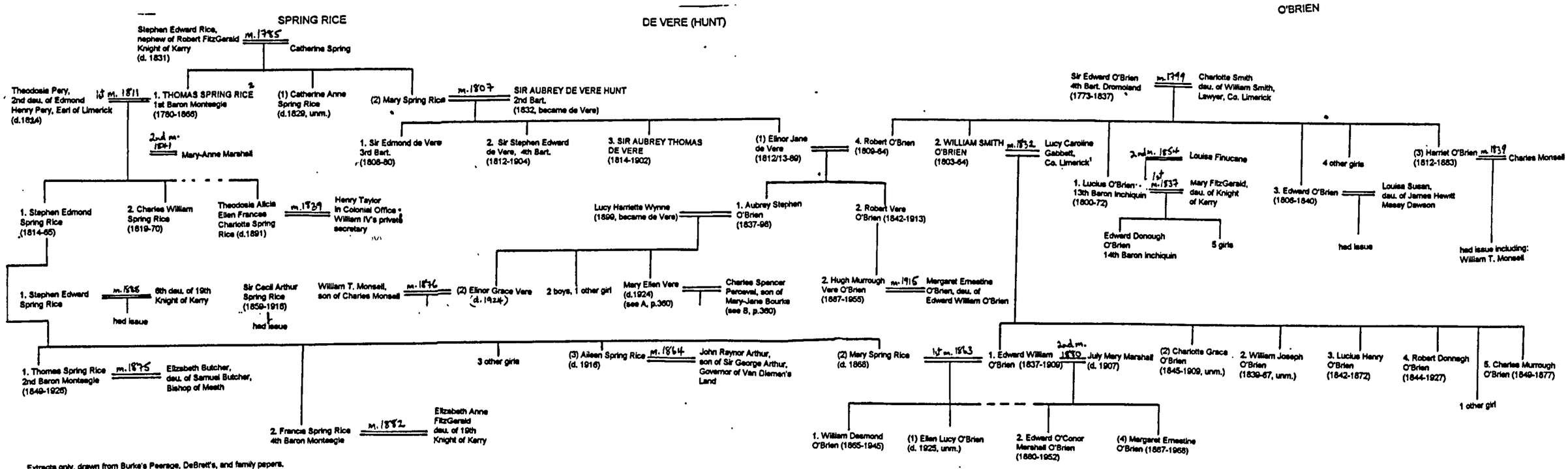
JUPP, Peter (ed.), *British and Irish Elections 1784-1831* (Newton Abbott, 1973)
MCCULLOUGH, J.R., *The Literature of Political Economy: a classified catalogue of select publications* (London, 1845)
MITCHELL, Charles, *The Newspaper Press Directory* (London, 1847)
PIGOT, J., *Directory of Ireland* (Dublin, 1824)
STEPHEN, L, and S. Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1890-1960)
Thom's Dublin Directory (Dublin, 1844)
VAUGHAN, W.E. and A.J. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish Historical Statistics: population 1821-1971* (Dublin, 1978)
WALKER, Brian M. (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin, 1978)
WALKER, R.B., *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales, 1803-1920* (Sydney, 1976)
Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals 1800-1900 (Waterloo, Ontario, 1986)

APPENDIX

BOURKE FAMILY



Extracts only, drawn from Burke's Peerage, DeBrett's, and family papers.
The family order of male children is denoted by 1., 2. etc., and females by (1), (2), etc.
[1] Thomas Spring Rice acted as guardian for Sir Richard Bourke's children at various times, especially Dick, and 'gave away' Fanny Bourke when she married Rev. John Jebb.



Extracts only, drawn from Burke's Peerage, DeBrett's, and family papers.
The family order of male children is denoted by 1., 2. etc., and females by (1), (2), etc.
[1] The Gabbett family were close neighbours of the Bourkes.
[2] Thomas Spring Rice acted as guardian for Sir Richard Bourke's children at various times, especially Dick, and 'gave away' Fanny Bourke when she married Rev. John Jebb.